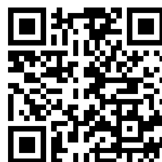




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See a review of this volume in the London
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THE

LIFE OF MOHAMMAD,

FROM

ORIGINAL SOURCES.

BY A. SPRENGER, M. D.

Part 1.

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Book 1.

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FIRST BOOK.

GENERAL REMARKS;

Division of the Subject.

"Now learn a parable of the fig tree; when his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh."

It seems to be the first duty of a historian to investigate the causes of great revolutions; for an event which happens at any other, but its due season, is a miracle: we should consider it as a wonder, if the sun should rise one second before, or after its appointed hour; or if any one were to accomplish, in his childhood, what is expected of him in his riper age. In like manner, had the illiterate prophet *produced* the revolutions which he headed, the ontological argument for his faith, which he constantly urged, would be irrefutable: we should be obliged to acknowledge his doctrine as absolute truth, because it was victorious. In investigating, however, the origin of that extraordinary phenomenon, the victory of a false religion, we must separate the causes of its rise in Arabia from those of its propagation beyond the limits of that country. The former we find in the awaking of healthy minds from the dreams of the ancient world to the knowledge of one immaterial God. This sublime truth, when it was pronounced in the Qorân, in the most forcible language, filled the ever-young Arabs with irresistible enthusiasm; and it would either have

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led them to the Christian religion, and united them with their more advanced neighbours, or it would have ended in barren deism, and thus become altogether abortive, had it not been checked, in its developement, by the superstitions of its undaunted advocate and the municipal interests of the Makkians.[1] The better knowledge of the Creator of all things was resolved, in its transit through the minds of the worshippers of the black stone, into the dazzling colours of a local mythology, the growing deism of the contemporaries of Mo*h*ammad received a body, the idea became incarnate, and their philosophical speculations were converted into a faith and religion, distinct from other creeds, palpable, and national.

The causes of the diffusion of the Islám over the greater part of the then civilized world, must be sought in the condition of the respective countries, and in the relation of Arabia to them: these will be explained after the history of the origin of Mo*h*ammadanism has been related. But the enquiry into the circumstances, which forboded the rise of a new religion in Arabia, and which gave it shape, are so important, that the author may be justified if he devotes to it the whole of the first book, the first chapter of which will contain the history of Makkah, from the foundation of that city to the time of Mo*h*ammad, with particular reference to its constitution, which, up to this moment, is the groundwork of the constitution of Mo*h*ammadan states. In the second chapter the legendary history of Makkah and of the ancestors of Mo*h*ammad will be related, in order to relieve the picture of stubborn reality by the charms of pious fictions, to acquaint the reader with the

(1.) "When Mo*h*ammad first preached, the Qorayshites did not disbelieve him; but they did not like to give up their former religion. As soon, however, as he condemned their idols, they opposed him." Zohry apud Wáqidy, 47, 3.

"Abú Jahl said: Mo*h*. speaks truth, and he never said a falsehood, but, if the banú Qoçayy, who enjoy already the offices of bearing the standard, of providing the pilgrims with water, and of keeping the keys of the Ka'bah, should also obtain the prophetship, what would remain for the other Qorayshites?" *Kashsháf*, to Súrah 6, 33.

bias of Mo*h*ammadan writers, and to initiate him into the details of the doctrine of the Arabic prophet. The sources of the biography of Mo*h*ammad will be passed in review in the third chapter.

FIRST CHAPTER.

*History of Makkah, and of the Ancestors of Mo*h*ammad.*

In antiquity the commerce of the southeast coast of Africa, India, and the south sea with Egypt, Syria, and the neighbouring countries, went through Arabia; in those times to transport merchandize by land was safer and even cheaper than to expose it to the dangers of the sea longer than was indispensable. The principals of this commerce were the Sabeans. Their wealth is described in the most glowing colours by Agatharchides (flourished 177 B. C.),[1] and it was proverbial with the Romans.[2] The few glimpses which we obtain respecting Sheba and the Arabic commerce from Scripture, tend not only to confirm the statements of classical authors; but they give to it a very high antiquity. About the time of Christ the inhabitants of Petra seem to have suc-

(1.) "There is no nation on earth so wealthy as the Gerrhei and Sabei, as being the centre of all the commerce which passes between Asia and Europe. These are the nations which have enriched the Syria of Ptolemy; these are the nations that furnish the most profitable agencies to the industry of the Phenicians, and a variety of advantages which are incalculable. They possess themselves of every profusion of luxury in articles of plate and sculpture, in furniture of beds (carpets ?), tripods, and other household embellishments, far superior to any thing that is seen in Europe. Their expense of living rivals the magnificence of princes," &c. See Vincent, *Periplus* p. 32.

(2.) Horace says:—nec otia divitiis Arabum liberrima muto. *Ep.* I. 7, 36.
Plenas autem Arabum domus. *Od.* II. 12, 24.
Icci beatis nunc Arabum gazis. *Od.* I. 29. 1.
See also *Od.* III. 24, 2. *Ep.* I. 6, 6.

cessfully rivalled the Sabeans, and their influence extended far to the south.

In Yaman the inhabitants were settled, and wealth and hereditary rights had their legitimate scope. Commerce could purchase its safety, and Government could enforce it. The same was the case in Arabia Petrea: the inhabitants lived on agriculture, and the merchants were the rulers; but in the *H*ijáz the nature of the soil gave to the nomades the upper hand,[1] and the small forts,[2] which were erected along the mercantile road for the comfort of the caravans, would have been insufficient to guarrantee their safety, had not means been devised to reconcile the indomitable sons of the desert to their own interests.

An Arabic historian[3] shows that the Bedouins can only be ruled by prophets; and it appears that the merchants of antiquity tamed their savage neighbours in Arabia, as elsewhere, by religion: by making their fairs places of pilgrimage. The valley in which Makkah now stands, was, in the fourth century after Christ, a sacred forest:[4] it was called the *H*aram,[5] and was about thirty seven miles in circumference.[6] The weak found an asylum in it, though they might be loaded with guilt, but it was not lawful to inhabit it,[7] or to carry on commerce within its limits.[8] The religious cere-

(1.) "Incolunt eam (Arabiam) primi post Syros Iudeos homines agricultores; post hos regio est arenosa et sterilis eam Arabes scenitæ camelorum postores habitant." Eratosth. apud Strab. p. 728. Burckhardt says, that the steppes, south of Syria, bear to this day traces of former cultivation.

(2.) They are mentioned by Strabo; and it is said in the Qorán of the '*K*dites, "Do you build on every eminence a strong place?"

(3.) Ibn Khaldún devotes a separate chapter of his *Prolegomena* to this subject.

(4.) The chronology is approximative. The fact that Makkah is of so recent a date is established by some passages in the appendix and by the sequel of the story. Wáqidy says, the valley in which Makkah now stands was, previous to Qoçayy, covered with salam and thorn trees.

(5.) Pliny 6, 32, calls it *Charamei*.

(6.) Ibn Khordádbah; but Fásy doubts the exactness of this computation.

(7.) This prohibition was in order that the sacred territory might not be desecrated by janábah (emissio seminis). Fásy.

(8.) Fásy—Mo*h*ammad gave permission to trade even during the pilgrimage. *Qorán* 2, 194.

monies, performed in the *H*aram, were a link between several tribes of the *H*ijáz, whom we will for the present call collectively the *H*aramites. The Barbarians, whom in the fastnesses of their deserts no human law could have restricted, submitted to religion: they abstained from war during four months of the year: the two last and the first and the seventh month. On the first day of the seventh month they assembled peaceably at the fair of 'Okátz,[1] the Olympus of the *H*ijáz; where they met several tribes not belonging to their confederation; they exchanged or ransomed their prisoners, they submitted their disputes to arbitration, recited their poems, extolled the nobility of their tribes, and vaunted the valour of their heroes. It was in this fair that Qoss preached the unity of God, before Mo*h*ammad assumed his prophetic office, and made a great impression on his juvenile mind. About the twentieth of the same month they proceeded to another fair which was held at Majannah,[2] and on the first of the following month they assembled at the fair of Majáz,[3] from which they went, after ten days, into the sacred territory to perform the rites of religion.[4] The ceremonies performed on this occasion

(1.) 'Okátz is one day's journey beyond Qaran al Manázil (the ancient Carana) on the road to Çan'á in the district of *T*áyif, and one post from that city. It was the market place of the Qays 'Aylán and the Thaqyf tribes, and it was situated in the territory of the Naçr tribe. These fairs were discontinued during the second century of the Hijrah. Azraqy apud Fásy cap. 40.—Other authors give to 'Okátz a somewhat different position. Conf. Mas'údy I. p. 138.

(2.) Majannah was the market place of the Kinánah, it was situated in their territory one post below Makkah. Azraqy apud Fásy.

(3.) Majáz was the market place of the Hodzayl tribe, one farsang south of mount 'Arafat near Kabkab. (Azraqy *ibid.*)

(4.) Qalqashandy mentions several other markets: "On the first of Raby' I. the Arabs from near and far assembled at Dúmat al Jandal (Dawmat, it is said in a gloss to Wáqidy, is a different place). Okaydar took the customs from them, but sometimes the Kalbites made themselves masters of the market. It lasted to the end of the month. Then they went to Hajar (in Yamámah) where they paid the customs to Mondzir or the Shaykh of the banú 'abd Allah b. Dárim; then they went to 'Omán in Bahrayn (sic), then to Iram and the towns of Shi*h*r, then to 'Aden, where they bought perfume, and from thence to Rábyyah in *H*ádhramawt; some omitted this fair, and proceeded at once to Çan'á, where they bought arms, striped cloths and leather. These articles were brought into market by the banú Ma' áfir. (The ma' áfir cloths are celebrated). Then they went to 'Okátz." This is an excellent outline of the mercantile roads.

were nearly the same as those through which now the Musulman pilgrims go. To us they appear unmeaning and dull; but they have afforded amusement and edification so many centuries to so many millions of men that we should not be justified in passing an opinion. Shahrastány informs us that there was an opinion prevalent among the Arabs, that the walking round the Ka'bah and other ceremonies were symbolic of the motion of the planets and of other astronomical facts.[1]

Ambition is the most powerful spring of action in the Bedouin. To keep up the interest of the *H*aramites in their religion various offices[2] were devised, and divided amongst the Shaykhs of the confederate tribes, to flatter their vanity, and to make the ceremonies more imposing. And every tribe had some of its tutelary deities in the *H*aram as its representatives. This tends to show that this federative religion was an amalgamation of the superstitions of various clans made for political purposes. The most powerful of the confederates were the Kinánah tribes. They were

(1.) Wa*t*wát, *Mabáhij al-fikr* Lib. I. c. 2. says that most Arabic tribes were originally star-worshippers (Sabeans). "The people of Sabá worshipped the sun as mentioned in the Qorán; the tribe of Asad and Kinánah worshipped the Moon, and subsequently they embraced the Jewish religion. The Lakhmites and Jodzámites worshipped Jupiter; the Asadites worshipped Mercury; the banú Minqar (?) worshipped the Hyades; the Qays tribes worshipped Sirius (canis Major); the *T*ayy tribe worshipped Canopus. At a later period they sunk into idolatry."

(2.) These offices were, at least at a later time, 1. the sidánah (priesthood), or *h*ijábah (portership); this implied the superintendance over the *H*aram and the keeping and drawing of the lot (arrows) used as the oracles of fate; 2. rifádah or stewardship at the public entertainement of the pilgrims; 3 siqáyah, i.e providing the pilgrims with water; 4. liwá (standard), which with some, implies the leadership and the right of appointing leaders for confederate tribes: this was done by tying a kerchief to the spear of the man appointed; 5. dár al nadwah, i. e. the proprietorship of the townhall; 6. ayám Miná, the right of heading the pilgrims in the ceremonies which were performed in Miná; 7. insá, or the right of postponing the sacred months; 8. qiyádah, leadership in war; 9 khazánah, or the charge of the treasury of the Ka'bah: this office is mentioned under the Jorhomites, but no mentioning occurs during the Qorayshite period; 10. ifádhah, the privilage of heading the procession from Mazdalifah. This privilege was since time immemorial held by the banú 'adwán b. Qays 'Aylán, who first resided at *T*áyif, and, being expelled from thence, went into the Tabámah. The last who exercised this privilege was Abú al-Sayyárah, on whom see Freytag *Prov. arab.* I. p. 739.

nomades, and lived west of the sacred territory and on the high road that leads to the north. Their chief representative was Hobal, anciently called the idol of Khozaymah,[1] the supposed father of the Kinánah and some tribes related to them. It stood, (at least after Qoçayy) behind the Ka'bah over a well and received almost as much homage as the black stone. One of these tribes enjoyed the important office of naming the time when the sacred months were to be kept.[2] Next in importance were the Thaqyf tribes; they had their head-quarters at Táyif and were the guardians of the upper road to Yaman. Their idol Allát, probably the Alilat of Herodotus, was at Nakhlah,[3] east of the present site of Makkah. In company with Allát was al-'Ozzà. It was an idol of the Kinánah, but its hereditary priests were the Banú Solaym, who were stationed along the mercantile road to Syria in the neighbourhood of Khaybar and in the wády al-Qorà. The Çúfah, a mixed Khindif tribe,[4] enjoyed the privilege of heading the pro-

(1.) Shahrastány and most Arabic authors assert that the only God has been worshipped in the Ka'bah previous to the Khozá'ahites, and that Hobal was imported by their chief 'Amr b. Lo*h*ayy. What is stated in the text is from Wáqidy fol. 12. 2. The idols imported by 'Amr b. Lo*h*ayy were, according to Fásy, al-Khalaçah which was below Makkah, Nahyk also called Mo*h*ádzir, al-ry*h*, and Mo*t*'im al-*t*ayr. This author calls Hobal emphatically an idol of the Qorayshites.

(2.) "Sometimes," says Ibn Is*h*aq, apud Fásy c. 30, "instead of the Mo*h*arram the Çafr was held sacred. And secondly the pilgrimage was annually postponed by eleven days or somewhat more for thirty three years and after that period it was again held in the same lunar month;—that is to say in performing the pilgrimage the Arabs followed the solar year and held it always at the same season. It is said that the sacred months were first transfered by Málik b. Kinánah or by Qalammas, i. e. *H*odzayfah b. 'Abd b. 'Abd Foqaym b. 'Adyy b. 'Ámir b. Tha'labah b. al *H*árith b. Málik b. Kinánah. The last man who transfered them was Abú Thomámah Jonádah b. 'Awf." From the *Qámús* (voce qlms) we learn further that in transferring the sacred month the person authorized to do so stood in the western extremity of the valley of Miná at the Jamrah al-'aqabah and said, "O God, I am dispensing with the sacred months and transferring them; no one can blame me or oppose me. O Lord, I have declared the first of the two months called Çafr (i. e. the Mo*h*arram) licit and the second sacred, and I have done the same with the two Rajabs (that is to say Rajab and Sha'bán)!"

(3.) Nakhlah is, according to Wáqidy, a place now called Bostán b. 'Ámir, or more correctly (according to Ibn Qotaybah's *Adab al Kátib*) Bostán Ma'mar.

(4.) It is said in the Qámús: "Çúfah is the father of a Modhar tribe, his name was Ghawth b. Morr b. Odd b. Tábikhah; they lead the pilgrimage in the time of ignorance, that is to say they conducted the Ifádhah (the procession from 'Arafát

cession of the pilgrims on their way from 'Arafat. The Jorhomites left relics of their religion in the statues of Isáf and Naylah on the hills which surround Makkah; and the Khozá'ahites placed one of their divinities (Nahyk) on mount Çafá and another (Mo'tim al-*t*ayr) on mount Marwah. The ceremonies which were performed on these two hills are kept up to this day, though differently construed. These and several other tribes belonged to the *H*aramite league, whose members were so numerous and zealous, that the idols round the Ka'bah amounted at the time of Mo*h*ammad to three hundred and sixty.

Yet we should be under a great mistake, were we blindly to believe Mo*h*ammadan authors, who state, that, not only all the Arabs, but even the Persians performed pilgrimages to Makkah. Ibn Is*h*aq allows that there were several *T*ághúts (temples) in Arabia which were as sacred as the Ka'bah. Shahrastány[1] informs us that the banú *T*ayy did not visit the *H*aram, and we may suppose that they bounded the country of the *H*aramites to the west, for their chief place, Fayd, lies on the road from Madynah to Baçrah near mount Shammar. The same author informs us that the banú Kath'am and Daws did not perform pilgrimages to the Ka'bah: they had a *T*ághút of their own, which is mentioned in the tradition.[2] These two united tribes formed, as late as A. D. 571, so powerful a state that they attempted to resist the progress of the viceroy of Yaman. They held, besides the wády Dawásir, the mountains between Yaman and the *H*ijáz, and extended as

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to Miná. Compare *Súrah* II. 194). One of them exclaimed on this occasion: "the Çúfah tribe is to precede!" and when they had passed he exclaimed; "the other Khindif tribes are to advance;" and after they had passed the rest of the pilgrims were allowed to go on."

Abú 'Obayd (quoted by Ibn Darayd in the *Jamharah*) says that the Çúfah were not descended from one patriarch, but that they were a mixed tribe. Zamakhshary says that some etymologists derive the name of the Çúfies from Çúfah, because the latter were notorious at the time of paganism for their religious zeal.

(1.) Page 442.

(2.) *Niháyat jazary*, voce *T*ághút; and Ibn Is*h*áq.

+ Sale. i. 48. says that 'taghut' signifies an idol, or some object of worship other than God.

far as Tólábah.[1] They appear to have been the southern neighbours of the *H*aramites. It is difficult to define the northern frontier of the territory held by the league of the *H*aram, for it seems to have been frequently changed; we shall probably not be far from truth, if we consider it identical with the frontier of Arabia Fœlix, which at the time of Eratosthenes was somewhere about Madynah. The *H*aramites were not only amused with idle ceremonies, but they were attracted by solid interests; all assisted in, and derived some advantage from, the lucrative transit commerce.[2]

The league was headed by the principals of the Arabic commerce, who were the guardians and high priests of the *H*aram; and who, when the Ka'bah was built, held the keys of that temple. As long as the merchants of Sheba enjoyed the monopoly, they had a colony southeast of the *H*aram, and their Amyr had the superintendence (sidánah) over it.

Burckhardt[3] says: "In examining the Bedouin laws, and especially those which are determined with scrupulous nicety, a question naturally arises, how that code of laws, which, in its main points, there is a reason to believe general among all Bedouins of Arabia, (and which I know to be common among several of them), was originally given to that nation. We can scarcely suppose that it arose from the natural wants of the tribes, which slowly and partially adopted certain customs; and that these, by practice and common consent, in process of time, became the universal law. The political institutions of the Bedouins, the nature of the offices of their sheikhs and elders, the rules which they observe in war and

(1.) Qalqashandy, *Dict. of Arabic tribes.*
Tolábah is, according to Ibn Khordádbah, eight stages from Makkah on the road to Çan'á. Idrysy places it erroneously four stages from Makkah.

(2.) Strabo, p. 740, says, that the caravans which passed between al *H*ijr and Petra were very frequent at his time, and as large as armies. In saying this Strabo was thinking of the army of Elius Gallus, which consisted of sixteen thousand men.

(3.) *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, I. 378.

negociating peace—rules founded on the very spirit of their free and wandering life—might probably be traced to such an origin. They are so well adapted, so natural, and so simple that every nation, not yet reduced to slavery, if thrown at large upon the wide desert, might be expected to observe the same rules and usages. But quite contrary is the case with their civil institutions, which it is difficult to imagine could ever have originated in chance, or the consent, gradually obtained, of a wild and warlike multitude."

"The general law, by which the right of blood-revenge is determined to rest within the khomseh, and which limits hospitality towards a fugitive to three days and one-third of a day; the rules of dakheil, of the rabiet, of several of the laws relating to divorce; the nice distinctions made in estimating wounds and insults; to which may be added the nature of the agyd's office; all these seem to be so many arbitrary regulations, that, in my opinion, indicate the work of a legislator." For such a legislator the talented author supposes we must seek in remote antiquity. It is probable that the code of laws, to which he alludes, emanated from the merchant priests of the *H*aram.

The early history of the tribes who held successively the superintendence over the *H*aram, and consequently the supremacy over the *H*ijáz, is enveloped in obscurity. Eratosthenes, who died in 194, B. C., at an age of eighty one years, informs us that the Mineans were in his time the carriers of the commerce. They transported the goods in seventy days from *H*adhramawt to Aylah. The *h*ajj road is divided into the same number of stages by early Arabic Geographers.[1] This tends to prove the identity, not only of the road, but of the stages.

(1.) The distances on the *h*ajj road from *H*adhramawt to Makkah, and from thecne to Aylah, are, according to Ibn Khordádbah, as follows: from *H*adhramawt to Márib nine stages; from Márib to Çan'á seven stages; from Çan'á to Qarn, the ancient capital of the Mineans, eighteen days; from Qarn to Makkah two days; from thence to Madynah ten days; from Madynah through al-*H*ijr, the

This author includes the whole of the *H*ijáz in Arabia Fœlix; and in enumerating the inhabitants he proceeds from north to south, and mentions first the Mineans; they must therefore have lived in the *H*ijáz. Ptolemy places them north of the Dosareni, the Dawsites of Arabic authors, who inhabited the wády Dawásir, which is south of Makkah. Pliny places the Mineans, in one passage,[1] north of the Rhadamitæ, who it seems answer to the banú Kath'am, who were confederates of the Dawsites. It appears therefore that these three authors agree on the site of the Mineans. Their capital, according to Eratosthenes, was called Carna or Carana.[2] This name is preserved in Qarn, which is also pronounced Qaran;[3] but in modern times it is usually called Qaran al-Manázil, which may be translated "the junction of roads." It lies between Makkah and *T*áyif, two stages from the former city. The etymology of the name of Mineans is not clear, unless we derive it from Miná, a valley in the sacred territory, in which, up to this day, the Mo*h*ammadans perform several of the ceremonies of their annual pil-

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site of the Thamúdites, and Tayma to Madyan nineteen days; from Madyan to Aylah five days. Aylah was only ten miles from Petra.

(1.) The passage alluded to deserves to be explained. The ancients, he says, placed south of the Nabateans the Thimaneans; but now the Taueni (the *T*ayy tribe ?) are there; then he proceeds further south to Domatha (Dúmat al-Jandal); Egra (al *H*ijr ?), and to Badanata, (wády al-Qora ?), which was the capital of the Thamadeni. Then he goes considerably east to Carriata, (Qaryatayn ?), Phoda, (Fayd ?); then he continues: "ac Minei quorum Charmæi: oppidum XIV. mill. pass.—Mariaba Baramalacum et ipsum non spernendum: item Carnon." I should explain this as follows: Then come the Mineans, and to them belongs the place *H*aram or sacred territory, which is fourteen miles long. The residence of the king is called Barr al-malik (i. e. king's land; *T*áyif ?), which is a considerable town. In their territory is also Qaran al-Manázil. South of the Minæi were the Rhadamei (Kath'am b. Anmár ?); and south of the Rhadamei was the frontier of the kingdom of the Homeritæ (*H*imyar), and the town of Massala (Ça'dah ?); and farther south, between Massala and Çan'á, the banú 'Ámir (Hamirei), the Jedarah (Gedranitæ), Anmár (Ampræ), al-Ash'ár (Ilisanitæ; Ptolomy calls them Elisari), Bajylah (Bachilitæ). Hamdán (Amathei); and finally he comes to the Kahlánites (Calingii), whose capital he calls Mariaba Calingiorum; he adds that Mariaba means Capital or residence of a king (marabb ?); and this name means therefore simply "Capital of the Kahlánites." In following up the route of Elius Gallus we find that Çan'á is meant by it.

(2.) Strabo, p. 728.

(3.) *Qámús*, *voce* qrn.

grimage; and before the Ka'bah was built almost all the ceremonies were performed there.

From what has been said it seems to be certain that the Mineans belonged to the *H*aramite league, but it is difficult to determine whether the whole league was designated by that name, or only the ruling tribe, that is to say, the colony of the principals of the transport commerce. Eratosthenes gives them a king, who, like other kings of Arabia, is held in great honor, but has no power; the whole government is entrusted to a Major-domo. This description cannot apply to a Bedouin Shaykh, but to a high-priest (Sádin). It is probable that where the title of king is applied by Arabic authors to Midhád,[1] the chief of the Jorhomites, or to 'Amr b. Lo*h*ayy, the chief of the Khozá'ah, it is to be taken in this sense.

This might justify us in supposing that the Mineans were the ruling tribe of the *H*aram; but, as they are called the "great nation," ancient authors must have comprehended under this name more than a mere colony. Pliny places the Mineans, in one passage, in the neighbourhood of *H*adhramawt, from which we might infer, that both the colony and the mother tribe were called Mineans. This opinion seems to be confirmed by the statement of Strabo, who says that they carry the goods from *H*adhramawt to Aylah. In another passage Pliny informs us that they inhabit a sterile country, and that their wealth consists in cattle. Taking this in connexion with what has been said above, it would lead us to suppose that all the *H*aramites are understood under the name of Mineans; and it is possible that it had sometimes so extensive meaning as to imply, besides the mercantile colony in charge of the Haram, and their confederates in the *H*ijáz, also their mother tribe in Yaman.

(1.) This name is usually pronounced Modhád; but Çagháoy, in a gloss to Wáqidy, states that Modhád is the name of the family (literally *nation*), and Midhád that of their deliverer.

The most ancient native accounts respecting the *H*ijáz do not go back beyond the first century of the Hijrah, and they have been much altered by Mo*h*ammadan authors, to make them agree with the legends of their religion; but, slavishly as they copy the words of more ancient traditions, they not seldom betray their own fraud.

In the first or second century of our era two mercantile colonies were inclavated between the Bedouins of the *H*ijáz: the Jorhomites, who had come from Yaman, and who seem to be identical with the Mineans, had their factories south and east of the sacred territory, of which they were the priests; and the Amalekites,[1] (the Malichæ of Ptolemy),[2] were north of it, and extended over the Tahámah,[3] Madynah[4] and Khaybar.[5] We know from scripture that the latter came from Arabia Petrea. The names of Midhád, king of the Jorhomites, and al-Samayda', the leader of the Amalekites, were celebrated by Arabic poets. In connexion with the Amalekites were the *'A*dites, a powerful tribe *north* of Makkah;[6] and their "cousins" and neighbours the Thamúdites,

(1.) *Kitáb al-aghány* and Mas'údy.

(2.) Ptolemy says that the country west of the Cinœdocolpitæ was inhabited by the Malichæ. The Cinœdocolpitæ lived on the coast of Kentos, which had nearly the same position as Joddah. Kentos (i. e. horn) is a translation of the Arabic name of Sho'aybah, which is the diminutive of Sho'ab and means the space between the two horns of an animal. Wáqidy says: "Sho'aybah was the seaport of Makkah before Joddah."

(3.) Mas'údy, c. 39.

(4.) Samhúdy, *Hist. of Madynah*, c. 3. (Samhúdy wrote three works on the history of Madynah, but the division into chapters is the same in all three.)

(5.) Abú al-Fadá, *Hist. anteisl.* ed. Fleischer, p. 178.

(6.) All Arabic authors, including the Qorán, say that the *'A*dites were related to the Thamúdites, but they differ on the site of the *'A*dites. Most authors, with a view of enhancing the miracle, related of these two tribes in the Qorán, place the *'A*dites in the unapproachable desert of A*h*qáf, and this may have mislead Mr. Dubeux to say, in his translation of *T*abary, I. p. 114, of the *'A*dites and Thamúdites, "elles n'etaient pas voisines de l'une l'autre." In those MSS. of *T*abary, (and in the very ancient copy of Ghazzály) which I have seen, the text runs وقوم عاد و ثمود هر دو عم زادگان بودند .. .. دو قبیله ببادیه حجاز بودند وبیکدیگر نزدیک بودند "The people of *'A*d and Thamúd were cousins .. .. both tribes lived in the steppes of the *H*ijáz, and close

who inhabited al-*H*ijr, and extended, according to Ptolemy, as for north as Aylah. There was therefore one uninterrupted string of mercantile colonies from Yaman to Arabia Petrea, and the sacred territory was then (about A. D. 100) the frontier (this is the meaning of the word *H*ijáz) between the southern and northern merchants, or in other words, between Arabia Fœlix and Arabia Petrea. Each party levied customs on the imports for the protection afforded to the carriers; and it is likely that in those days carriage was mostly changed on the boundary. Most Arabic authors assert that the Jorhomites had first the supremacy over the *H*ijáz; and, in all probality, the Amalekite colonies did not penetrate south beyond Madynah before the beginning of our era.[1] The stingy Amalekites, the overbearing 'Ádites, and the ungodly Thamúdites were hated and despised by the Bedouins, among whom they lived. Their feelings towards the Amalekites are best shown in the legend of the Amalekite wife of Ishmael, related below. The numerous passages of the Qorân, in which the prophet holds up the destruction of the 'Ádites and Thamúdites as examples of deservedly punished wickedness, are allusions to popular legends, and show how much the *H*aramites rejoiced at their ruin. If the Amalekites ever had

to each other." These two authors (*T*abary and Ghazzály) place the 'Ádites three days *north* of Makkah, and make them the neighbours of the Thamúdites. Ptolemy places his Oaditæ north of the Thamúdites; and thus confirms their statement.

(1.) Eratosthenes mentions the following three tribes of Arabia Petrea. Farthest to the north the Nabathæans; then the Chauloteans; and farthest south, on the frontier of Arabia Fœlix, the Agreans. Under Agreans, in all likelihood, the *H*ejrians, or inhabitants of al-*H*ejr, are meant. It seems that the name of *H*ejr or *H*ijr was pronounced, in ancient times, *H*ajar, which means stones; for we find it translated by "Petra." Strabo says, P. 740, that the caravans go through Moila (Vicus albus) from Petra to Petra, i. e. to al-*H*ejr. The term "people of al-*H*ejr or *H*ejrians" is used in the Qorán for the Thamúdites; and it would therefore appear that the Thamúdites and their confederates are to be understood under the name of Agrei.

At the time of Elius Gallius the power of the people of Petra, i. e. of the Amalekites, seems to have extended no farther than al-*H*ijr. It seems they pushed farther south after Christ. I identify the terms People of Petra, and Amalekites, on the authority of Josephus.

charge of the *H*aram, as some Arabic authors assert,[1] it was by force and usurpation, and only for a short period.

The spreading of the merchants of Petra southward was, no doubt, owing to the rise of the Roman power and civilization in Syria. And the reduction of the frontier of Arabia Fœlix was connected with the decay of the commerce and importance of Sheba, which was beginning to manifest itself ever since Hippalus (about A. D. 47) had first ventured to sail direct from the Red Sea to India, taking advantage of the Monsoon, instead of coasting India and unshipping the goods in the first sea port of Arabia which could be reached.[2]

In the second century of our era the Jorhomites succeeded in expelling the Amalekites from the *H*ijáz, and about the same time the 'Ádites and Thamúdites were destroyed. How far this was connected with the rise of the *H*imyarite power in Yaman it is difficult to determine.

The navigation of the Red Sea, under the Roman dominion over Egypt, rose rapidly to importance, and the commerce of Arabia decreased in proportion. The impoverished mercantile colonies could with difficulty resist the rapacity of their

(1) A tradition, preserved in the Kashsháf, to súrah 7, says that the Amalekites were, at one time, sole masters of Makkah; and according to Azraqy *apud* Fásy, c. 7, they rebuilt the Ka'bah.

(2.) The vessels of the Arabs, which were small in comparison with those of the Greeks of Egypt, (*Periplus* p. 174,) coasted India, following the curvature of every bay, until they reached Cambay; from thence they stood over to the cape of Jomjomah, now called Rás al-*H*add, and followed the coast of Arabia. Vessels, bound for Ço*h*ár, usually took in water at Masqat. From Çohár the goods were transported by the Gerrhœans by land to Babylonia. Goods destined for the markets of Palmyra and Egypt were unshipped, since the highest antiquity, not far from Rás al-*H*add, and transported from thence by land to *H*adhramawt by the Cotabani, (i e. banú Qodhá'ah), who inhabited Mahrah, and notwithstanding the sterility of this country, were one of the most numerous and powerful families of Arabic tribes. They are said to have been the first Arabic tribe that knew writing But before the beginning of our era, the Arabic navigators became more enterprising, and coasted the south coast of Arabia as far as *H*adhramawt, and landed in the harbour Hiçn Ghoráb. The Qodhá'ahites, being unable to subsist, emigrated to the frontier of Babylonia, where one of their tribes was known to Strabo by the name of Colpitæ (Kalbites), to the Syrian desert, and into the neighbourhood of Madynah. Many, however, remained at Mahrah, and were, at a comparatively recent period, distinguished by a peculiar dialect.

Bedouin neighbours. In the third century of our era the Jorhomites were expelled from the *H*ijáz, most likely by their nomadic confederates.[1] They retreated to Syria, where remnants of them were to be found as late as the ninth century of our era.[2] About the same time (third century) mighty migrations took place in Arabia from south to north and north-east. One of them was headed by the Ghassánites, who had originally inhabited the coast of Zabyd.[3] On their way through the *H*ijáz they assisted in the destruction of the Jorhomites, or at all events took advantage of it, and left a division of their tribe, called Khozá'ah, (i. e. "left behind"), in charge of the *H*aram. They were poor, and assimilated themselves with their Bedouin neighbours to such an extent, that their descent became doubtful,[4] and their connexion with the mother tribe extinct. Their capital Watyr,[5] was north-west of the *H*aram. After less than two hundred years,[6] they lost

(1.) It is quite certain that the banú Bakr b. 'Abd Manáh b. Kinánah had a hand in it. Wáq., Fásy and tár. Khamys.

(2.) They settled at Qanúná, between Damascus and Ba'lbek.—Mas'údy.

(3.) Arabic authors inform us that the Ghassánites, and all other Azdite tribes, which were numerous enough to establish two kingdoms and t› people Madynah, had originally inhabited the city of Sabá (Sheba), and that they left that city in order to avoid a predicted inundation, which was to be caused by the breach of one single bandáb. Bandáb means in India an artificial reservoir of the rain water, for the purpose of irrigation. Ruins of bandábs are numerous in the neighbourhood of Delhie. Mas'údy, c. 45; *H*amzah, p. 115, and other authors, however, allow that the Ghassánites derived their name from Ghassán, which is the name of a water in the valley of al-Ash'ár, between Zabyd and Rima' on the coast of the Red Sea. They say that they took some rest days there, on their march from Sabá to the north. But we find them on that spot in the times of Pliny and of Ptolemy, and it is more than probable that they originally inhabited that coast.

(4.) The Khozá'ahites themselves maintained, that they were Azdites, and descended from 'Amr b. Raby'ah Lo*h*ayy b. al-*H*árith b. Mozayqiyá; but some ethnographers say, that they were Modharites; and derive them from Qama'ah b. al-Yás b. Modhar, or from al-Çalt b. al-Nadhr b. Kinánah. Sohayly *apud* Qalqashandy, reconciles these two opinions by saying, that the father of their patriarch, 'Amr b. Lo*h*ayy, was Qama'ah a Modharite, and his step-father an Azdite.

(5.) Watyr is now called Watyryn, and it is near Malkán. The Khozá'ahites were not displaced by Qoçayy. They continued in their old seats to the time of Mo*h*ammad.—Fásy. They extended as far as Marr Tzahrán.—Qalq. *dict. Arab tribes.*

(6.) Ibn Is*h*áq and *T*abary say 300 years; and some authors say 500 years. See appendix.

their power, and the tribe of Qoraysh, to which the Arabic prophet belonged, took their place.

In the begining of the fifth century of our era Qoçayy, an adventurer of the 'Odzrah tribe, which lived in Arabia Petrea,[1] came into the settlement of the Khozá'ahites. He soon acquired wealth and importance, and obtained the daughter of their chief in marriage. The death of his wife's father, the weakness of his brother-in-law, the decay of the Khozá'ahite power, and the ascendency of the Kinánah tribes, forboded a change in the supremacy of the *H*ijáz, of which he was ready to take advantage. It seems to have been a law in the ancient history of Arabia, that the Bedouins, who had some share in the transport commerce, conquered and supplanted, in periods of two or three centuries, their principals, who lived in cities. Wealth had made these effeminate; whilst the hardy carriers of the goods had learned to appreciate the comforts of settled life, and become acquainted with the means of obtaining them. One of these revolutions was at hand.

If an aspiring Bedouin finds no sphere of activity in his own clan, he joins a man of another tribe as a confederate (*h*alyf). This gives him all the rights and imposes upon him all the duties of a man born in the tribe. Cases in which confederates became the leaders of the tribe are not rare. It is likely that Qoçayy, actuated by ambitious views, entered one of the Kinánah tribes as a confederate. Mo*h*amadan authors, however, say that he was the son of Kiláb a Kinánah shaykh. Their story is very unlikely, but I give it, as it is told by Arabic historians.

Fá*t*imah, the wife of Kiláb, gave birth to a son, who was called Zohrah; after him she had no child for a long time. At length she bore another son, who was called Zayd (Qoçayy).

(1.) The banú 'Odzrah were a Qodhá'ah tribe, and occupied Sargh, which is situated between Moghythah and Tabúk. They also held Mo'án, which is one stage from Shúbak.

Kiláb died soon after, and his widow married Raby'ah of the 'Odzrah tribe, by whom she had a son called Rizá*h*. Her new husband took her to his own clan, which occupied the country about Sargh, in the highlands of Syria (Arabia Petrea). Zohrah her eldest son remained in the *H*ijáz, but Zayd was taken away by his mother, and passed as the son of her second husband. When Qoçayy had grown into a man, he had a quarrel with an 'Odzrite, who reproached him that he was a stranger. He went to his mother, and after many entreaties she confessed that his father was Kiláb. On this he determined to join his own tribe. When he arrived at Makkah Zohrah was blind from age, but he recognized his brother by his voice, (!) and received him into the tribe. What must the age of Fá*t*imah have been when she gave birth to her third son, Rizá*h*, or when Qoçayy proceeded to the *H*ijáz?

It is the interest of the family of a confederate to obliterate the memory of his foreign origin; and it is, therefore, likely that the descendents of Qoçayy invented this tale in order to be considered of Kinánah extraction. It was greedily adopted by Mo*h*ammadan authors, for it agreed with their notion, that Mo*h*ammad was a son of Abraham. Qoçayy was his ancestor; and if he had been an 'Odzrite he would have derived his genealogy from Jocktan, whereas the Kinánah tribes claim descent from Ishmael. The Kinánah tribes found an enterprising leader in Qoçayy; and he found willing tools in them to further his ambitious objects. His brothers[1] hastened from Arabia Petrea with three hundred men to his assistance; and if the boast of the Qorayshites is well-founded the Byzantine Emperor favored his projects. The Khozá'ahites, and their allies the banú Bakr b. 'Abd Manáh, were worsted in an affray.[2]

(1.) Qoçayy had besides Rizá*h* three half brothers, viz. Honn, Ma*h*múd and Jolhomah.

(2.) The first tumult, it is said, arose during the pilgrimage. The Çúfah tribe enjoyed the privilege of preceding the other pilgrims in the ceremonies of 'Arafat and in casting stones. The party of Qoçayy prevented them from exercising it, and gave to Qoçayy the precedence.

A regular battle was waged, but whilst it was raging the combatants agreed to submit their case to arbitration. A Bakrite[1] was appointed to pronounce judgement between the two parties. He decided that the Khozá'ahites and their allies were to pay the blood-revenge to Qoçayy; but the price of the blood, which his party had shed, was remitted. The Khozá'ahites were permitted to remain unmolested in their former dwelling places,[2] and Qoçayy received charge of the *H*aram. The presence of auxiliaries from Qoçayy's original tribe gave him a great advantage over his Kinánah confederates, and enabled him to make such changes in the constitution of the *H*aramites as times demanded. The profits of an extensive transit commerce having ceased to be sufficient to connect a great number of tribes, he contracted the limits of the confederation, and formed a new tribe, called the Qoraysh. This clan succeeded, in a great measure, in monopolizing the advantages of the institution of the *H*aram.[3] The Qorayshites consisted exclusively of Kinánah families, and as a symbol of their unity, they all called themselves the children of Fihr.[4] Some of these families continued their nomadic habits; but others preferred the comforts of settled life to Bedouin liberty, and laid the foundation of Makkah.[5] Qoçayy

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(1.) His name was Ya'mar b. 'Awf b. Ka'b b. Layth b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manáh. He was called Shaddákh, because he did not condemn Qoçayy to pay the price of blood.

(2.) Fákihy and Azraqy *apud* Fásy.—Wáqidy and other authors say that the Khozá'ahites had lived at Makkah, and were expelled on this occasion; but they contradict themselves by allowing, that, when Qoçayy founded Makkah, he had to clear away the bushes and trees.

(3.) The reader will see lower down, that no *H*aramite tribe besides the Makkians was included in the commercial treaties concluded by Háshim and his brothers.

(4.) Fihr was certainly not a real person; yet some Mo*h*ammadan authors, in order to raise the antiquity of the tribe of their prophet, and because his is the supposed father of all the Qorayshites, assert that he formed the Qoraysh tribe. This, however, is contradicted by all good authors. Ibn Is*h*aq says of the condition of the Qorayshites previous to Qoçayy, و قريش اذا ذاک جلول وصرم وبيوتات متفرقون في قومهم من بني كنانة Most of the Qorayshite families were called banú Nadhr previous to the time of Qoçayy.

(5.) The nomadic Qorayshites were called Tzawáhir (i. e. those who live out

chose a valley within the *H*aram as the site of the new city; for he thought that living within the sacred territory would relieve him from his enemies. The other Kinánah tribes objected that it was unlawful to dwell in the *H*aram; and even his own tribe hesitated to cut down the wood with which it was covered. Qoçayy laid the first axe to the tree, and the Qorayshites followed his example. He sketched the plan of the town, and allotted to every family its own quarter. To raise the sacredness of the town he rebuilt the Ka'bah;[1] or, what is more likely, he founded it. At all events, he was the first who covered it with a wooden roof, and placed a number of idols in and around it.[2]

Though the composition of the Qoraysh tribe, and the mode of life of the Makkians, differed considerably from that of the Bedouins, the constitution of their commonwealth approached closely to the patriarchal form of government. There was in fact no government at Makkah, in our acceptation of the word, up to the time of Mo*h*ammad. There were no laws that could be enforced, no paid officers, no compulsory courts of justice, and no public treasury.

Among the Bedouins life and property are not protected by a power established by a majority, or imposed upon it. The whole tribe may decide on a certain measure; yet one family, nay, a single individual, may withhold its assent without fear of compulsion. A tribe may go to war to avenge the death of one of its members, or to retrieve a daring robbery; and one family, or one individual, may refuse to take up arms, if it has the courage to brave public opinion in a

side the city), and the Makkians were called Bi*t*á*h* families. Ba*t*y*h*ah means a sandy valley, or the bed of a torrent, and it seems to have been the proper name of the valley in which Makkah was situated, and for this reason all the Qorayshites who lived in that valley were called Bi*t*á*h* families.

(1.) Fásy says, cap. 7: "It is stated by al-Zobayr b. Bakkár, by Fákihy, by Ibn 'Áyidz, and by others, that Qoçayy rebuilt the Ka'bah; but this is not stated by Azraqy."

(2.) Among other idols he placed Isáf and Náylah in it; but they were subsequently returned to their former place.

small society, to which it is inseparably wedded, and which is its only protection.

Solicitous as nature is in the attainment of its ends, and in the preservation of its creations, (and society is one of them), it has placed strong passions in our breasts—honor and revenge—which are powerful enough to make men, in their unsophisticated state, shed their blood for the protection of each other. Among the Bedouins these passions are the only guarantee for the safety of life and property; and they are, therefore, fostered by education, regulated by public opinion, rendered sacred by immemorial custom, and lasting by ceremonies. The ceremonies by which the Bedouins impose certain duties upon themselves form, up to this day, their only religion. As in the case of marriage, a ceremony renders with us the promise of the moment an inviolable duty for life, thus the Bedouin, by going through certain ceremonies, ties down himself for life, and sometimes even his descendants, to fulfil duties, which involve the greatest devotion and sacrifices, towards others.[1]

Should a dispute arise between two individuals of a tribe, the Shaykh will endeavour to reconcile them; but if either party be dissatisfied with his advice, he cannot insist on obedience. Their respective relations will try to persuade them to submit; but, if they refuse to comply, they are obliged to protect them, if they do not choose to be the disgrace of their nation; and their respective families and kindred must go to war with each other.[2] In order to increase the number of those

(1.) This is exemplified by what is said in the following page. How fond the Arabs were of doing solemn acts under impressive ceremonies is shewn by their mode of swearing an oath, which was in use before Mo*h*ammad. They made a fire, which the person to whom the oath was administered approached, sometimes so near that he was burned; and they threw salt and sulphur into it. When the flame was fiercest they said to him, "This fire wishes to deter thee from perjury. If thy statement is not true, do not swear; but if thou speakest the truth, swear." This was called the cautioning fire. *Mabáhij al-fikr*, 1, 4.

(2.) Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Waháby*s, I. p. 116.

whose duty it is to protect each other, almost every Arab has a guardian (wacyy). "If an Arab," says Burckhardt,[1] "wishes to provide for the security of his family even after his death, though in the prime of life, he goes to one of his friends, and begs that he will become the guardian of his children. The ceremony on this occasion is, that he should present himself, leading a she-camel, before his friend: then he ties one of the hanging corners of the keffie or kerchief of his friend into a knot, and leading the camel over to him, says: 'I constitute you Wacyy for my children, and your children and your grand children for my grand children.' If his friend accepts the camel, and it is seldom refused, he and his whole family become the hereditary protectors of the other man's descendants. Almost every Arab has his wacyy in some other family; even the greatest Shaikh is not without his guardian. The ward applies to his wacyy whenever he feels himself aggrieved; and in defending his ward the wacyy's whole family co-operate with him. This system of guardianship is particularly beneficial to minors, to women and old men, who find it necessary to resist the demands of their sons. Thus it appears that the Arabs constitute, with their own families and those of the wacyys, as many armed bodies, which, by the fear they mutually entertain of each other, preserve the peace of the tribe; and perhaps nothing but this institution could save a nation so fierce and nefarious from being destroyed by domestic dissensions."

The protection of Mo*h*ammad by Abú Jahl, the bitterest enemy of the new religion, the details of which will be related below, is a noble instance of the faith of an Arab in defending his ward and kinsman; and it is a proof that what Burckhardt says of the Bedouins of our days, fully applies to the inhabitants of Makkah at and before the time of Mo*h*ammad.

(1.) Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, I. p. 131.

The greatest guarantee for life among the Arabs is the blood-revenge; the life of a murdered relative *must* be revenged. And so faithful are these armed bodies in fulfilling this duty, that if it was impossible to take vengeance at the time when the murder happened, it is sometimes done by the second or third generation. How completely this institution attains its object is shown by the fear of the Qorayshites as to injuring Mo*h*ammad.

These institutions rest solely on honor; disgrace is the only certain punishment of the faithless coward. Strong feelings of honor are the leading virtue, vain-glory the prevailing weakness, of the Bedouins. In the settled Arab they have degenerated into vile ambition. Bravery is the offspring of honor, and generosity is inseparable from bravery.[1] These three virtues constitute the chivaleresque character of the Bedouins, and made them victorious over one half of the then known world.

An example, which illustrates the state of justice at Makkah previous to the time of Mo*h*ammad, may not be out of place here. A merchant came from Yaman with goods, and sold them to a man of the name of 'Áç[2] of Makkah. The purchaser disappeared, and his family refused payment. The tribe of the merchant was far off, and could afford him no aid; and he implored in vain the protection of the Qorayshites against this violation of faith, which was disgraceful even in the eyes of a nation of robbers. On a day when the Makkians assembled on mount Abú Qobays, he recited before them some verses, and complained in the bitterest terms of the treatment which he had received at the hands of a Qorayshite within the sacred

(1.) Motanabby says in this sense فقلت ان الفتى شجاعته تريه في الشح صورة الفرق "Courage makes parsimony appear cowardice in the eyes of this young hero."

(2.) His name was 'Áç b. Wáyil of the Sahm family. He was the father of the celebrated general 'Amr.

territory. Zobayr a son of 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib, and 'Abd Allah b. Jod'án,[1] the two foremost heroes in war, were moved, and called on the Makkians to swear an oath, that they would in future protect the weak. The families of Háshim, Zohrah and Taym[2] met in the house of 'Abd Allah b. Jod'án, where a dinner was prepared for them, and swore by the god of death that they would stand by the oppressed "as long as the sea was sufficient to wet a flock of wool;" and that they would feed the distressed. Thence they proceeded to the house of 'Áç, and insisted that he should pay his debt. This oath was religiously observed, and the property of strangers was henceforth respected in the territory of Makkah.[3]

To give to the commonwealth of Makkah more consistency, unity of purpose, and regularity, Qoçayy built the town hall (dár al-nadwah). It was close to the Ka'bah, and its doors opened towards it; for religion and state were closely united. The town hall was never public property,[4] but it was the place

(1.) 'Abd Allah b. Jod'án was of the banú Asad, and was celebrated for his generosity. He had a man in the upper part of Makkah, and one in the lower, to invite people to "animal food and fat or grease." He was the first man at Makkah who gave to his guests Falúdah, which is prepared in the following way: wheat is macerated in water for some days; what has not been dissolved swims at the top, and is thrown away; and what has been dissolved is strained off and dried, and usually boiled in water into a thick paste. This is dried and cut into cakes and eaten with sugar; the Arabs call it لباب البر (marrow of wheat), or فالودج The latter is the Persian and Indian name of this dish.

(2.) These are the families mentioned by Wáqidy; Fásy, cap. 35, adds the families of Mo*tt*alib, of 'Abd al-'Ozzá and of Asad.

(3.) This oath was called *h*ilf al-fodhúl.

(4.) In a gloss to Wáqidy, folio 39, two traditions are mentioned regarding the town hall. According to one of them, for which al-Zobayr is the authority, and which has also been followed by Wáqidy in the text, folio 13, the town hall was inherited from Qoçayy by his eldest son 'Abd al-dár and remained in his family until it was sold by Mançúr b. 'Ámir b. Háshim b. 'Abd Manáf b. 'Abd al-dár to *H*okaym b. *H*izám. According to the other tradition, which is traced to Hishám Kalby, it was sold by 'Ikrimah, a brother of Mançúr b. 'Ámir, to Mo'awiyah b. abú Sofyán for one hundred thousand dirhams. Mo'awiyah converted it into the Government House (dár al-imárah), and it remained henceforth in the hands of the Khalifs.

Ibn *H*awqal says anent the town hall, "It is west of the great mosque behind the government house. The entrance to it is on the side which faces the (great mosque). It is (now) a mosque, and united with the great mosque. At the time of ignorance it was the place where the Qorayshites used to assemble."

where all public business was transacted. There the Makkians deliberated in emergencies; they decided on war or peace; they installed their leaders and those of their allies; they concluded marriages and performed the circumcision of their sons; and all Qorayshite caravans, and even single travellers, started from the town hall, and visited it on their return to Makkah, before they went to their own homes.

Every Qorayshite, and every confederate, who was forty years of age, had a right to attend at the deliberations; and the sons of Qoçayy enjoyed the privilege of being permitted to attend before they had attained that age. There was no voting, because, as it has already been observed, only persuasion, and not compulsion, could unite the Qorayshites to carry a measure into execution. Wealth, connexions and family gave great influence; but the greatest man in council was he who shone brightest with the virtues of a Bedouin: bravery, resolution, hospitality, ready wit and cunning. He drew the mass along with him.

The moral influence of Qoçayy was so great that he ruled Makkah with almost absolute authority. He was the proprietor of the town hall, and had, besides, four or five of the offices of the *H*aram alluded to above.[1] He and his sons were the hereditary leaders and standard-bearers of the tribe in war,[2]

(1.) Page 6, note.

(2.) Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins*, I. p. 296, says on this subject: "It is a remarkable circumstance in Arabian history and policy, that during a campaign in actual warfare, the authority of the Shaykh of the tribe is completely set aside. Every tribe has besides the Shaykh an agyd, (i. e. a leader in war). The office of agyd is hereditary in a certain family from father to son; and the Arabs submit to the command of an agyd, whom they know to be deficient both in bravery and judgment, rather than yield to the orders of their Shaykh during the actual expedition; for they say that expeditions headed by the Shaykh are always unsuccessful. All Bedouin tribes without exception have their agyd. The same agyd acts on some occasions as agyd to two neighbouring tribes, if they are small and closely allied. Thus, among the Arabs of Sinai, a family of Awlád Sayd is in possession of the agydship for all the tribes of the peninsula. The person of the agyd, and still more his office, is regarded with veneration. He is considered by the Arabs as a kind of augur or a saint. He often decides on the operations of war by his dreams, or visions, or forebodings. They believe that

and the stewards in the entertainment prepared by the Qorayshites for the pilgrims, whilst they performed their religious ceremonies at Makkah and in Minà. He also had the management of providing them with water on those occasions. Most authors give him credit for having first introduced these two offices; but as hospitality is with the Arabs the privilege of the strong, and the first attribute of power, we may suppose that they are as ancient as the *H*aram.

When Qoçayy died he was buried in the hill of al-*H*ajún, near Makkah, which became henceforth the burial ground of the Qorayshites; and his eldest son 'Abd al-Dár inherited the five offices of the *H*aram, which had been held by his father.[1] Owing, however, to his weakness, he enjoyed but little influence in comparison with his brother 'Abd Manáf. Through the exertions of the latter Makkah became flourishing, and he added new quarters to it.

The most active, wealthy and liberal among the sons of 'Abd Manáf was Háshim. During his time the commonwealth of the Qorayshites attained to its golden age. Three generations had brought it to maturity, and after three generations more it was ready to undergo a change, which was reechoed from the extremities of the world. We know that the

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even a child of the ancient agyd family may be a proper leader, supposing him to act by a kind of heavenly inspiration." Superstition lends to the Arabs, in emergencies, the unity and strength of a monarchy.

(1.) This is the statement of Wáqidy, but Azraqy apud Fásy says, that there is a tradition, that Qoçayy gave the stewardship, the management of providing the pilgrims with water, and the leadership in war to 'Abd Manáf, who left the former two offices to Háshim and the latter to 'Abd Shams.

The history of the stewardship we shall hear lower down. The standard and the keys of the Ka'bah remained always in the family of 'Abd al-Dár. Of the leadership we find the following history in the Tarykh Khamys. "'Abd Shams left it to his son Omayyah, and from him it came to his son *H*arb, who commanded the tribe in the war of 'Okátz, in which the Qorayshites fought against the Qays 'Aylán. He also had the command in both sacrilegious wars, and in the war of Dzát Nakyf, (a place near Yalamlam), in which the A*h*ábysh sided against the Qorayshites. *H*arb was succeeded as leader of the Qorayshites by his son Abú Sofyán, who commanded at O*h*od and in the battle of the Ditch; but in the battle of Badr his relation 'Otbah b. Raby'ah b. 'Abd Shams had the command, Abú Sofyán being in the caravan."

Jorhomites and Khozá'ahites, who preceeded the Qorayshites, enjoyed equally short periods of existence. If the mercantile republics of Arabia were so short-lived, how may revolutions must have passed in Sheba, and other commercial cities, from the time of Solomon, or Abraham, until they were finally destroyed!

Háshim was the first Qorayshite who traded at the same time with the north and south. In summer he went to Syria, to purchase wheat, giving camels in exchange. Sometimes he proceeded as for as Ancyre,[1] where the Emperor himself is said to have taken notice of him; and in winter he visited Yaman.

The liberality of Háshim was unbounded. During a famine in the *H*ijáz he had bread baked in Syria for distribution at Makkah; and hence he is called Háshim, i. e. Breadbreaker; his proper name having been 'Amr. The camels, on which the bread was carried to Makkah, were slaughtered and divided among the starving citizens.

At the end of the fifth century of our era Makkah, like every commonwealth, was divided into two parties. The descendants of 'Abd al-Dár, who were in possession of the five offices of dignity, headed the party of hereditary privileges; and the descendants of 'Abd Manáf, who enjoyed greater wealth and moral influence, were the leaders of the liberal party.[2] The numbers were nearly equal on both sides: the liberals counted in their ranks the families of Asad b. 'Abd al-'Ozzà, Zohrah, Taym and Bal*h*árith. Their leader was Háshim. The conservatives were headed by 'Ámir the shaykh of the house of 'Abd al-Dár, which was joined by the families of Makhzúm, Sahm, Joma*h* and 'Adyy. Only the houses

(1) انقرة

(2.) The conservatives are called in Arabic A*h*laf, (confederates), or La'aqat al-dam, (blood-lickers), and the Liberals Mo*t*ayyab (perfumed). On the origin of the latter two terms, see *Qámús*, under *t*yb and l'q.

of 'Ámir b. Lowayy and Mo*h*árib b. Fihr remained neutral. The liberals disputed with 'Ámir the dignified offices. Differences, in a rude state of society, are generally decided by the sword. The two parties were drawn up in face of each other, when the family of 'Abd al-Dár purchased peace at the sacrifice of the two most expensive offices of the Ka'bah, the stewardship and the right of providing the pilgrims with water.[1] Háshim was invested with these honors.

It appears that the steward was intrusted with the diplomatic relations of the little commonwealth; or in other words, that he was the shaykh of the tribe. In virtue of this office he had to incur all public expences; but he had a claim to the customs and all other emoluments derived from foreigners. As shaykh of Makkah, Háshim and his brothers concluded commercial treaties with the neighbouring powers, which were very advantageous to the Qorayshites.[2] The Emperor of Constantinople and the Chosroes provided them with passports, granting them immunity from certain duties;[3] and the Negush of Abyssinia invited them to trade with his country. Háshim went thither with a caravan of forty merchants.[4] They took the route of Madynah, and visited on their way the fair held at a place called, "Market of the Abyssinians."

The victory gained by the sons of 'Abd Manáf over the conservatives sowed the seeds of dissensions in this family, which, about one hundred and fifty years later, deluged the empire of the Arabs with blood. No family quarrel has ever

(1.) It is probable, and almost certain, that he also resigned the leadership in favor of 'Abd Shams.

(2.) The treaty of commerce with the Emperor was concluded by Háshim; that with the Negush by al-Mo*tt*alib; and that with the Chosroes by Nawfal. This is from Wáqidy. Mas'údy mentions two verses, in which the *iláf* or commercial treaties of the Qorayshites are mentioned; and according to one copy of this author they also concluded a treaty with the king of Yaman.

(3.) This assertion of Arabic authors receives some confirmation from an edict in the Codex of Justinian. The duty remitted to the Arabs was the portorium.

(4.) They were of the banú 'Abd Manáf, Makhzúm and Sahm.

been more productive of evils than this. Omayyah, who was an ambitious and wealthy man, was jealous of his uncle Háshim, and attempted to equal him in liberality, and in the virtues of a Bedouin; and being ridiculed by the Qorayshites; he insulted and challenged him. The families of the other two sons of 'Abd Manáf took up the dispute. Nawfal espoused the cause of the Omayyides, and al-Mo*tt*alib that of the Háshimites. After many quarrels they committed their dispute to the arbitration of the Khozá'ahite sooth-sayer, who decided in favor of Háshim. The loser forfeited, according to a previous understanding, fifty camels, and had to leave Makkah for ten years. Omayyah spent the time of his exile in Syria, where his great grand son—the first Omayyide Khalif—founded a throne, and where he and his successors wasted the strength of the growing empire in continuing their quarrel against the Háshimites.

Háshim discharged his office of steward with the utmost munificence. He spent nearly his whole fortune in entertaining the pilgrims, and the Qorayshites followed his example. Every father of a family contributed no less than one hundred Heraclean dynars[1] to the entertainment. For providing the pilgrims with water he had reservoirs made of leather, which were placed on the spot where subsequently the Zamzam was sunk, and filled with water from the wells of the city. Similar reservoirs were prepared in the valley of Minà, where there was great scarcity of water. The pilgrims were first entertained on the seventh of the month of Dzú-l-*h*ajj at Makkah. The fare consisted of bread, animal food, butter, flour of parched barley, and dates; then in Minà, Mozdalifah and 'Arafat

(1.) The Arabic term is mithqál, which is synonymous with dinár as a weight, and equal to 68 grains and four sevenths of a grain. If we take the mithqál as a weight, one hundred mithqál of gold would be equal to 6857 grains, or £52; and if we take "mithqál" for the Arabic name of an *aureus* of Constantine and his successors, (see Gibbon), 100 mithqáls would be equal to £55. This is a large sum; but we must recollect that semi-barbarous nations starve all their life to be enabled to make a great display on such occasions.

When they left Minà the rights of hospitality ceased, and everybody returned to his home.

Háshim died at Ghazzah in Syria, and his property was brought to Makkah by Abú Rohm, who was then only twenty years old.[1] Shortly before his death Háshim married Salmà of Madynah. She remained in her native town and gave birth to a son called Shaybah, or "greyhair," for his father was grey when he was born. The child remained with his mother until he had grown into a boy; his uncle, al-Mo*tt*allib, now fetched him, and when he carried him into Makkah his countrymen thought that he was a slave boy, and for this reason he received the name of 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib, which means the slave of al-Mo*tt*alib. He was the grandfather of Mo*h*ammad, and inherited, after his uncle's death, which happened on a mercantile journey at Radmán in Yaman, the stewardship of the Ka'bah. Nawfal, another uncle of 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib, deprived him of this office; but Abú Sa'd of Madynah, his mother's brother, came with eighty men to Makkah, and swore that he would destroy the usurper if he would not restore it. Being thus re-installed in his rights 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib obtained considerable influence with the Makkians; but like his father he became the object of the jealousy of the Omayyides. *H*arb challenged him, and the

(1.) The tradition preserved by Wáqidy is probably correct. It runs—

وخرج هاشم في اصحابه الي الشام حتي بلغ غزة فاشتكي فاقاموا عليه حتي مات فدفنوه ورجعوا بتركته الي ولده ويقال ان الذي رجع بتركته الي ولده ابو رهم بن عبد العزي العامري عامر بن لوي وهو يومئذ غلام ابن عشرين سنة

The author of the Tárykh Khamys follows evidently a corrupt version of the same tradition, when he states that Háshim was 20 or 25 years of age when he died. His words are هلك (هاشم) بغزة من ارض الشام واختلف في سنّه حين مات فقيل عشرون سنة وقيل خمس وعشرون سنة

king of Abyssinia was chosen as umpire. He declined to mix himself up in the quarrel; and Nofayl of the 'Adyy tribe, whom he named as his proxy, decided in favor of 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib. Notwithstanding this victory it is certain that *H*arb, and after him his son Abú Sofyán, surpassed the family of Háshim in wealth and influence, and that they were the chiefs of Makkah.

The only remarkable event in the life of 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib is, that he sunk the well of Zamzam, from which henceforth the pilgrims were provided with water both at Makkah and in Minà; the reservoirs of leather were abolished. This well is sacred to the Ma*h*ammadans to this day; and its water, which is endowed with the most extraordinary virtues, is carried by the pilgrims into distant countries, and forms, with many true believers, the only article of their pharmacopœia.

Of some importance for the following history was a league for mutual protection, which 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib concluded with the Khozá'ahites in the town hall, without even the knowledge of the other Qoraysh families. The document was suspended in the Ka'bah. The Khozá'ahites remained ever faithful to his family, and were of the greatest service to Mo*h*ammad.

'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib died when Mo*h*ammad was eight years of age, and he was succeeded in the stewardship first by his son al-Zobayr, and then by another son of his, whose name was Abú *T*álib. The latter being too poor to hold it, handed it over to his brother al-'Abbás, who was steward when Mo*h*ammad conquered Makkah.

Having traced the history of the ancestors of the Arabic prophet, we proceed to investigate the political, religious and moral condition of central Arabia about the time of his birth.

Through the dim light which Roman authors shed on the

history of northern Arabia during the first three centuries of our era, we see in the midst of the desert Roman roads, magnificent temples, splendid palaces and richly ornamented porticoes, mostly in the Grecian style of architecture, and with Grecian inscriptions. The ruins of Palmyra attest, to this moment, the wealth of the mercantile cities of ancient Arabia. What must Sheba have been, which before Christ far surpassed Tadmor (i. e. Palmyra)! Under Odenathus the Roman emperor and his wife Zenobia the Queen of the east Palmyra for a while stood forth the rival of Rome; but the competition was fatal, and ages of prosperity were sacrificed to a moment of glory. In A. D. 272 Zenobia was defeated in two battles by Aurelian, Palmyra was taken and soon afterwards destroyed, and the Amalekites disappeared for ever from the stage of history.

According to Arabic authors Zenobia was an Amalekite woman by birth,[1] and her husband Odenathus probably belonged to the same nation. It is, however, perfectly immaterial of what race he was descended, for his capital was in Arabia, and he was styled an Arabic prince; for his power was founded on the support of the Arabic tribes; but in his court and capital, the language, literature and arts of Greece were cultivated apparently to the exclusion of the Arabic tongue. The moral influence of Palmyra on those who lived in the interior of the country must, therefore, have been very limited, and the foreign civilization of the Amalekites was as unavailing to the genuine Arabs, as the bag of gold was to the hungry traveller, who was perishing from fatigue in the desert,

(1.) Her name was probably Zaynab. In the *Kitáb al-Aghány* the genealogy of her sister al-Zabbá, the Queen of Ninivé, is given as follows: She was a daughter of 'Amr b. *T*arîb b. *H*assán b. Odzaynah b. al-Samayda' b. Hawbar of the tribe of 'Ámilah, which was an Amalekite tribe. Al-Samayda' b. Hawbar the fifth ancestor of Zenobia was the chief of the Amalekite colony at Makkah. (See page 13). The name of Odenathus is probably a corruption of Odzaynah or Odzaynat اذينة. His origin is not known.

and who wished to have found a bag of turnips instead of it. The Bedouins, however, obtained bread and occupation from the Amalekites. Mercantile cities, like Palmyra, inhabited by Nabateans and Amalekites, were to be found in antiquity both in Arabia Petrea and on the Euphrates. And if they exercised no other influence on their nomadic brethren, they must have kept up a great activity among them, and afforded them the means of increasing the population far beyond the number which the natural resources of the country could support. This excessive population, when it had become impoverished by the changes of the times, but enlightened, carried the banners of the Islám into foreign countries.

After the commerce of these mercantile cities had declined, the wars between the Byzantines and Persians gave employment to the inhabitants of Arabia Petrea and Deserta; the former mostly fought in the ranks of the Romans; and the latter, who were by far the most numerous, in those of the Persians. The pay and plunder acquired by these mercenaries were sufficient to keep up courts in their respective countries. The kings of Arabia Deserta ruled in the name of the Chosroes, and their influence extended nearly as far west as Madynah. The kings of Arabia Petrea and the chiefs of Dúmat al-Jandal, which lies far south of Palmyra, were proud to be called Lieutenants of the Cæsar; and the former carried,[1] about A. D. 560, their victorious arms as far south as Khaybar, which is only six days northeast of Madynah. These feudatory princes were too poor to ape foreign manners, nor was it their interest to do so. What the courts of northern Arabia lost in wealth and refinement, they gained in nationality, and their moral influence on the Arabs in the interior of the country was very great and beneficial.

(1.) The dynasty which ruled over Arabia Petrea and the southern parts of Syria was called Ghassán, and the king who was then on the throne, and who headed the expedition, was al-*H*árith b. Aby Shimr (Theophanes calls him Arethas). He was the most powerful prince of his race.

Yaman was ruled by a viceroy of the Negush of Abyssinia, whose authority extended as far north as Najrán, which is only ten stages from Makkah. The whole of Arabia, with the exeption of the *H*ijáz, was therefore subject to governments which were strong enough to protect agriculture and industry, and civilization seems to have made considerable progress even among those tribes whom the nature of the soil condemns to the hardships of nomadic life, but whom, by way of compensation, it preserves in eternal youth and freedom. About the middle of the sixth century the Qorayshites, who had the supremacy over the *H*ijáz, were so far advanced that they were no longer exempt from the evils inseparable from progress: they were obliged to accept a king at the hands of the Byzantine Emperor. As this fact is little known it is here inserted in the words of an Arabic historian:—"The Emperor appointed 'Othmán b. al-*H*owayrith b. Asad,[1] a cousin of Mo*h*ammad's first wife, as king over Makkah, and sent a letter on this subject to the Qorayshites. 'Othmán was kind and affable towards the Makkians, and threatened them that, if they would not submit to his authority, the Emperor would destroy their commerce. By those means they were prevailed upon to crown 'Othmán and to acknowledge him as their king. But subsequently they revolted against him at the instigation of his cousin Abú Zam'ah.[2]

The ex-king took refuge with the Emperor, and informed him of what had happened. The Emperor sent orders to 'Amr b. Jafnah (probably 'Amr b. al-*H*árith Jafnyy) the Ghassánite, to imprison every Qorayshite merchant, whom

(1.) 'Othmán was a Christian, and it is possible that this was a religious movement.

(2.) This name assists us in ascertaining the period of 'Othmán's usurpation. Abú Zam'ah (Aswad) was the son of al-Mo*tt*alib b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Ozzá b. Qoçayy. He was a bitter enemy of the doctrine of Mo*h*ammad, and must therefore have been alive in A. D. 611, but he was then old. He had a grown up grand-son, Yazyd, who emigrated to Abyssinia.

'Othmán might point out to him. This order was obeyed. 'Othmán died in Syria of poison."

In the year 571 Abrahah, the Governor of the King of Abyssinia over Yaman, marched at the head of a considerable force into the *H*ijáz; the banú Khath'am having in vain opposed his progress he penetrated as far as *T*áyif. The inhabitants opened to him the gates of the town; and being rivals of the Qorayshites in commerce, they gave him a guide to Makkah. He plundered the environs of the holy city; and as a deputation, consisting of the Shaykhs of the Qorayshites, Hodzaylites and Bakrites,[1] could not prevail on him to spare the Ka'bah, the Qorayshites resolved to await the approach of his army in the narrow passes outside Makkah, and concealed themselves between the downs. It is said that they were assisted by heaven in their troubles; for the small-pox broke out in the camp of Abrahah, and obliged him to return to Yaman.[2] This disease, as well as measles and croup, had up to that time been unknown in the *H*ijáz.

The victory of the Makkians over Abrahah raised them in the opinion of their neighbours, but could not restore youth to their commonwealth. The rivalry of the inhabitants of *T*áyif and of Yathrib (i. e. Madynah) in commerce lessened

(1.) 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib, the Shaykh of the Qorayshites; Ya'mar b. Nofátah, the Shaykh of the Bakrites; and Khowaylid b. Wáthilah, the Shaykh of the Hodzaylites.

(2.) In the Qorán (Súrah 105) this history is considered a miracle which God wrought to protect the Ka'bah against the Christians (see 2d chapter). The honest Wáqidy gives the explanation of it adopted in the text: قال فاقبلت الطير من البحر ابابيل مع كل طاير ثلاثه احجار حجران في رجليه وحجر في منقاره فقذفت الحجاره عليهم لاتصيب شيئا الا هشمته والا نفط ذالك الموضع فكان ذالك اول ماكان الجدري والحصبة والاشجار امراة

The learned Reiske, *opuscula medica ex monumentis Arabum*, *Halæ* 1776, p. 8, mentions two very interesting passages on this first appearance of the small-pox and other exanthematic fevers among the Arabs; and he observes: "Ergo Aethiopes, qui olim Hippocratis tempore gravem Græciæ pestem intulerant, hoc anno Arabiæ variolam intulerunt."

their means and diminished the number of their allies; and the moral influence of foreign nations, to which a commercial community is particularly open, began to manifest itself in the ideas of the Qorayshites and other tribes of the *H*ijáz, and the last spark of life of the confederation of the Mineans seemed to be on the point of being extinguished. As the power of Makkah was founded on religion, the Qorayshites sought a remedy in reforming the faith of the *H*aram: they and their neighbours attended with more rigour to the religious ceremonies; they introduced some new observances, (which were subsequently abolished by Mo*h*ammad), and they assumed the name of *H*oms, which means literally zealous, but here it has the same meaning which I have given to the word *H*aramites.[1]

Paganism, however, could no longer be upheld. The Arabic princes of Arabia Deserta and Arabia Petrea and of Dúmat-al Jandal were zealous christians. *H*yrah, the capital of the former, was the centre of Arabic chivalry and poetry, and its example could not fail to make a deep impression upon the Arabs; and therefore the Taghlibites and other *nomadic* tribes followed the same religion. The conquest of Yaman by the Abyssinians (A. D. 529) furthered the cause of christianity in that quarter; but in the *H*ijáz as elsewhere the religion of the cross was not propagated by kings or by force of arms, but by the blood of its martyrs. The fortitude of the christian mother of Najrán, who was burned with her child for her faith,

(1.) Ta*h*mys means the alliance of certain tribes by religion. That such an alliance existed in the *H*ijáz, since the remotest antiquity, and that it was renewed at the time of Qoçayy, and again about the year of the elephant, (i. e. of the expedition of Abrahah against Makkah), is quite certain; but it is not so clear when the terms "*h*oms" and "ta*h*mys" were first used. Ibn Is*h*áq says about the year of the elephant, or A. D. 571; and Wáqidy says at the time of Qoçayy. As the whole of the ancient history of Makkah hinges on this religious confederacy, I have inserted some passages regarding the *h*oms in the appendix. In the same place I give Wáqidy's account of the sacrilegious war, (he only speaks of one), which was carried on by the *h*oms tribes against other tribes who had violated th sacred territory.

made a deep impression upon the surrounding tribes. Her name was still in the mouth of the people at the time of Mo*h*ammad, and he holds her up in the Qorán (cap. 85) as an example to his followers. The attempt of Abrahah, on the contrary, to introduce christianity at Makkah by force of arms, is branded in the same book as deservedly punished recklessness.

The Jewish religion had been early spread in Yaman, and professed by its kings; and among the Kinánah tribes, the stoutest supporters of idolatry, the faith of Moses found followers. The Jewish colonies at Yathrib (Madynah), Khaybar, Fadak and Taymá were so powerful that they were for sometime the masters of the Bádiyah including Madynah;[1] and even at Makkah some Jews and Christians were settled when Mo*h*ammad assumed his prophetic office.[2] It appears, therefore, that the *H*aramites were surrounded upon all sides by people, who were of the same origin, spoke the same language, and had the same habits; but who professed a purer faith. Reading and writing were not rare accomplishments among the Qorayshites,[3] and some of their confederates could even boast of historians whose activity, though contemporaneous with, was independent of, the innovations of Mo*h*am-

(1.) "At Taymá was a fortress called Ablaq al-Fard, in which the Jewish king Samuel resided, who was celebrated for his good faith and honesty." Ibn Khordádbah.—According to Idrysy apud Abúlfedá, *Arab-text*. Paris 1840, p. 89, he resided at Khaybar. Ibn Khordádbah says, that when the Persians were in possession of Yaman they had a governor at Madynah, who collected the revenue of the Bádiyah.

(2.) We have the names of Jabr (a Greek) and Yasár, who were sword manufacturers; of '*A*yish, a slave of *H*oway*t*ib b. 'Abd al-'Ozzá, who had several books; and of 'Addás a monk of Niniveh, and probably a missionary.

(3.) "The prophet made, in the battle of Bakr, seventy prisoners, on whose heads he fixed a ransom, which was in proportion to their means. The people of Makkah knew writing, but the inhabitants of Madynah were not acquainted with this art. To each prisoner, who had no means to ransom himself, ten boys of Madynah were given for instruction, and his teaching them to write was considered as a ransom." *Trad. of* '*A*mir *apud* Wáqidy.—"A man who knew writing, and who was a good swimmer, and a good archer, was according to the notions of the Arabs of the times before and immediately after Mo*h*ammad, accomplished." Waqidy folio, 285 verse.

mad. It is evident that idolatry could no longer remain the religion of the *H*ijáz.

The first Arab who, as far as our knowledge goes, preached the unity of God at the fair of 'Okátz, was Qoss[1] of the Iyádites. This tribe was closely related to the Qorayshites, and lived in Arabia Deserta, where the christian religion had made great progress among the Bedouins. Qoss was an eloquent orator, a distinguished poet, an equitable arbitrator, and he acquired by his wisdom the title of "the philosopher of the Bedouins." His sayings, of which we possess, unfortunately very few and unsatisfactory specimens, were intelligible only to the initiated. He expressed, however, distinctly that there was a better religion than that of the *H*aram. Mo*h*ammad in his youth saw Qoss, but he was dead when he assumed his prophetic mission.

Probably in connexion with Qoss was Omayyah of *T*áyif. He was a cotemporary, but somewhat older than Mo*h*ammad, and his life and tenets, which are authenticated by his own verses, shed much light on the origin of the Islám. Abú al-Çalt, the father of Omayyah, had been a distinguished poet; but was surpassed by his talented son, who was superior to most of his contemporaries in poetical genius. Omayyah made several mercantile journeys to Arabia Petrea and Syria, and studied the scriptures and the tenets of Christians and Jews; he renounced his belief in idols, and was one of those who used to speak of Abraham and Ishmael and the *orthodox* faith. The latter is the name by which Mo*h*ammad subsequently distinguished his own tenets from those of the Qorayshites. He also abstained from things which are forbidden according to the notions of the Musalmans, as wine, unclean

(1.) The account of this man, which is found in the *Kitáb al-Aghány*, has been lithographed at Delhie. A fuller notice is contained in the *Ikmál al-dyn* of Abú Já'far b. Bábawayh. He is also mentioned by Mas'údy, I. p. 137. See Freytag *Pro. Arabum*, I. p. 467, 189; and Shahrast'any p. 437. 'Askary *apud* Qalqashandy, *voce* Iyád, says the first man who taught the taw*h*yd (i. e unity of God) at Makkah was Qoss.

food, &c. He dressed in sackcloth to do penance for his sins, and taught the Qorayshites to put at the head of their writings "In thy name, O Lord!" instead of the form of "In the name of the merciful and compassionate God," which has been preserved by Mo*h*ammad. The most frequent subjects of Omayyah's poems were our future state, the resurection of the dead, and the day of Judgment. Mo*h*ammad allowed that his doctrine much resembled that of Omayyah. It is said that, observing that his countrymen were ripe for a better faith, he expected to be chosen by Providence as their prophet, and to his disappointed ambition is ascribed the bitter enmity which he conceived against Mo*h*ammad, when the latter assumed the prophetic office. Omayyah composed elegies on those who had fallen at Badr fighting against the new faith, but the prophet forbad his followers to learn them by heart.

It has not escaped the attention of Arabic historians, that the great revolution of the establishment of a new religion was foreshadowed. In the introduction to the most ancient biography of Mo*h*ammad we find a chapter inscribed "an account of four men, who without revelation (before Mo*h*ammad) saw the fallacy of paganism," which I translate here. "One day the Qorayshites celebrated an annual feast, and assembled before one of their idols. They expressed their adoration for it, slew sacrifices, surrounded it and went round it. Four men, however, kept secretly aloof, and said, let us be friends and open our hearts to each other; and they agreed. These four men were Waraqah, a cousin of the first wife of Mo*h*ammad; 'Obayd Allah b. Ja*h*sh, equally a cousin of Mo*h*ammad, for his mother Omaymah was a sister of the prophet's father; 'Othmán b. al-*H*owayrith; and Zayd of the 'Adyy family. One said to the others: 'By God, you see our tribe does not know the true religion. They have corrupted the religion of Abraham, and are worshipping a stone,

and walking round it, though it does neither hear nor see, and can neither do good nor harm. Friends, seek for yourselves; for you are not in the right path.' They consequently dispersed over the country, and went in search of the orthodox faith of Abraham. Their result was as follows: Waraqah[1] embraced Christianity; he obtained the Scriptures from those who believe in them, and acquired a considerable share of knowledge from the followers of the Bible.

'Obayd Allah remained a sceptic until he embraced the religion of Mo*h*ammad. He emigrated to Abyssinia with his wife, Omm *H*abybah, who was a daughter of Abú Sofyán, and who had also embraced the Islám; and on his arrival in Abyssinia he turned a Christian, and died as such. When he passed the followers of Mo*h*ammad, after he had embraced Christianity, he used to say, "We see, and you attempt to see." Mo*h*ammad married his widow, Omm *H*abybah. He sent 'Amr b. Omay-

(1.) The best original accounts of Waraqah are in the *Kitáb al-Aghány*, (see appendix); and in the book called *Ikmál al-dyn* by Mo*h*. b. Bábawayh. He is also mentioned in two traditions of 'Áyishah; (see Taysyr ed. Calcutta, A. H. 1252, p. 461, and Matthews' translation of the Mishkát, Calc. 1810, II. p. 391 and 678). In these accounts it is said

وكان يكتب العبراني فيكتب من الانجيل بالعبراني ماشاء ان يكتب

"He knew to write Hebrew (according to some copies Arabic), and he wrote as much of the gospel in Hebrew (according to some copies in Arabic) as he thought proper." Some modern oriental authors, Matthews in a note to II. p. 391, Hammer and Weil, were of opinion that we are to understand that Waraqah translated the gospel from the Hebrew into Arabic. We might ask whether a Hebrew translation was existing? I suppose we ought to read "Arabic" instead of Hebrew as most copies have it, and that the sense is simply that Waraqah transcribed the gospel, or rather that he made or transcribed an abstract of the Gospels, for this seems to be the import of the words "as much as he thought proper." It might be urged that unless a translation was meant, the word "in Arabic" was redundant. In answer to this, it may be observed that the expression "*Kána yaktobo 'arabyy*, or *bil'arabyyah*," occurs frequently, and means simply "he knew writing." I give one instance: وكان الكامل عندهم في الجاهلية واول الاسلام الذي يكتب بالعربية ويحسن العوم والرمي

The translation of this passage is in note 3, page 37. It is singular that in the few words which Waraqah is said to have made use of, we find the Greek term *nomos*. (see *Nawawy*, page 614). The assertion that Waraqah professed at one time the Jewish religion, seems to be unsupported by good authority.

yah Dhamry to the Negush to woo her. The Negush gave her a dowry of 400 dinars, and Khálid b. Sa'yd b. al-'Áç placed Mo*h*ammad in possession of his bride.

'Othmán b. al-*H*owayrith[1] went to the Emperor of the Byzantines, and professed the Christian religion. The Emperor received him with great kindness.

Zayd remained as he was. He turned neither Jew nor Christian. He renounced the religion of his tribe, would not worship idols, and abstained from eating what had died of itself, blood, and what had been sacrified to idols;[2] and he disapproved of burying girls alive.[3] He used to say, I worship the God of Abraham; and he exposed the errors of his tribe. Asmà, the mother of 'Orwah, related that she had seen Zayd, when he was a very old man, leaning his back against the Ka'bah and saying: "O Qorayshites, by Him in whose hands the soul of Zayd is, none of you follow the religion of Abraham except myself." Then he continued, "O Lord, if I knew which form of worshipping Thee is most acceptable to Thee, I should adopt it; but I do not know it." Then he prayed, resting his forehead on the palm of his hands. Ibn Is*h*aq says, I heard that Sa'yd the son of Zayd, and 'Omar b. al-Kha*tt*áb his second cousin, requested the prophet to intercede for the soul of Zayd. The prophet said, "Yes." Zayd said the following verses on leaving the religion of his tribe: "Shall I believe that there is one Lord, or one thousand? Is the government of this world divided? I have given up al-Lát and al-'Ozzà; for I am strong-minded. I neither believe in al-'Ozzà nor in her two daughters; nor do I visit the idol of the banú 'Amr (a branch of the banú Asad); nor do I believe in Ghanam. He was my Lord when my intellect was yet weak;

(1.) This is the same man who has been mentioned in p. 34 as having been king of Makkah.
(2.) Mo*h*ammad forbad the same to his followers. *Qorán*, 2, 68.
(3.) This practise was abolished by Mo*h*ammad. *Qorán*, 81, 8.

but now I worship the Merciful as my Lord, in order that He, the Lord of forgiveness, may pardon my sins. Observe piety to God, your Lord! As long as you fear God you will not be lost. Do you observe the good? their abodes are the gardens of paradise, whilst the wicked will be condemned to fire. They do not prosper in life; and when they die they will have a fate, which will contract their hearts."

Zayd intended to leave Makkah, and to go in search of the orthodox faith of Abraham; but Kha*tt*áb, who was his uncle and his half brother, they having both had the same mother,[1] had given directions to Zayd's wife Çafyyah to acquaint him when he might be preparing for a journey; and he detained him. Zayd made, on this occasion, a qacydah, which begins: "Was I afraid of humiliation, &c." When Zayd came to the Ka'bah he went into the Masjid and said: "I am truly at thy service, (O God), for I am thy slave. I do what Abraham did. He was standing when he said, I incline myself until my nose touches the ground. Whatever thou mayest impose upon me, I will do. Virtue is lasting, but not pride. He who travels during the heat of the day, is not like unto him who sleeps at that time." He also used to say, "I submit (here occurs the word 'islám') to him, to whom the earth submits;[2] it carries heavy rocks, and God has expanded it; and when he had seen it, he placed the earth in the water,[3] and made it firm by putting mountains upon it.[4] I submit to him, whom the clouds obey, which carry sweet water;[5] and if a

(1.) Among other property the eldest son inherited, during the time of paganism, the widows of his father, with the exception of his own mother. This habit is forbidden in the *Qorán*, 4, 26. The case stood like this: Nofayl left a widow, who had borne to him al-Kha*tt*áb, and he left a son, called 'Amr, by another wife. This son inherited the widow of his father, (i. e. the mother of al-Kha*tt*áb), and begat Zayd with her.

(2.) Almost all the sayings of Zayd are litterally repeated in the Qorán. See for this passage Súrah 3, 8.

(3.) *Qorán*, 47, 30.

(4.) See *Qorán*, 89, 32.

(5.) *Qorán*, 56, 68.

cloud goes to any country,[1] it is by his orders; and it pours pails of water upon it."[2]

Kha*tt*áb persecuted Zayd to such an extent, that he drove him out from Makkah, and appointed some young men of the fools of Makkah to watch him, with injunctions not to allow him to return to the city. Zayd remained at *H*ará,[3] which is above Makkah; and he was not able to visit the city except by concealing his movements from his jailors. If they obtained information, they told Kha*tt*áb of it, who sent him back to *H*ará, and punished him. The Qorayshites were afraid that their religion might be corrupted, and that others might follow his example.

Zayd went, after all, in search of the faith of Abraham, and enquired of the monks and rabbins regarding it. He travelled through Mosul and Mesopotamia; then he proceeded to Syria, and wandered through the whole country; at length he came to a monk at Mayfa'at, in the Balqá, who was renowned for his knowledge of the Christian religion; and he asked him respeeting the orthodox faith of Abraham. He answered, "Thou seekest a religion with which no one can acquaint thee just now — but stop! a prophet has arisen in the country from which thou comest, who has been sent with the true and orthodox faith of Abraham; he has been sent just at this time." Zayd was acquainted with the tenets of the Jews and Christians; and as neither of them satisfied him, he started immediately on hearing this for Makkah; but when he passed through the country of the Lakhmites he was murdered by them."[4]

The examples of scepties, converts to christianity, and pro-

(1.) *Qorán*, 35, 10.
(2.) *Qorán*, 80, 25.
(3.) This is the place to which Mo*h*ammad resorted, to do penance, and where he is said to have received the first revelations.
(4.) Ibn Is*h*áq, p. 56.—The conclusion of this story is very suspicious. Ibn Is*h*áq usually places a prediction or a miracle where there is something to be concealed.

phets who preceded Mo*h*ammad in the *H*ijáz, might be multiplied;[1] but what has been said will be sufficient to show, that the successful prophet of the Arabs, in founding a new religion, did nothing more than gather the floating elements, which had been imported or originated by others, in obedience to the irresistible force of the spirit of the time, which carries, in the beginning, the elect, but in the end, all and every thing before itself.

Makkah had, at the time of Mo*h*ammad, about 12.000 inhabitants. Some families, particularly the descendants of Qoçayy, were caravan merchants; others devoted themselves to trades. In our days tradesmen (Çonná') are despicable in the eyes of the Bedouins. This was not the case in those times; for the Makkians intermarried with the Bedouins, and were much respected by them. The Arabs were undoubtedly much more civilized than they are now. Commerce encouraged industry, and furnished wealth, the source of civilization. Among other articles of luxury we find Chinese looking-glasses mentioned in Madynah, and the ladies of Makkah used to dress in silk. Arabia not only exported its natural productions, as myrrh, frankincense, dates, raisins, camels, &c., but also some productions of industry: among these, the leather called adym, and striped cloths of Yaman were the most celebrated. The former was red; and it is likely that the Yaman tribes imported the art of manufacturing it into western Africa, and Spain, and that the adym leather is the same which is now called Morocco in England, and Cordowan (from Cordova) in Germany. The imports into Arabia from Syria and Egypt consisted chiefly of corn, and, apparently, specie. Byzantine gold coins and Persian copper coins seem to have been the medium of exchange.

(1.) Compare Shahrastany, p. 437, and Mas'údy, c. 6.

The wealth of Makkah, and Arabia generally, had much declined at the time of Mo*h*ammad;[1] and it is doubtful whether the richest merchant had more than three hundred camels. The Arabs had apparently very limited opportunities, and little desire, profitably to invest capital. The wealth of a family lasted, therefore, not much longer than its activity and success in its enterprizes. The merchants of Makkah were, like those of our days, boasting and arrogant, but more generous and extravagant.

It was not so easy as it is generally in barbarous countries to find occupation, and to gain a livelihood; yet the wages of labour were considerable; and a young man who had four or five camels, a house, which was worth about ten pounds, and a slave, might consider himself set up in life. A wife he got for nothing; nay, if it was her first marriage, he was for three days entertained in the house of the father of the bride. This speaks highly for the civilization of the Makkians; for almost all savage nations sell their daughters. Men, who could afford it, had their zenánahs tolerably well stocked; and they frequently changed their wives; and wild marriages, of different descriptions, were comparatively frequent. Excess in love was, indeed, the leading vice of the Arabs. Their poetry, and even the traditions of Mo*h*ammad, which are in the spirit of the time, abound in obscene passages;[2] yet they were

(1.) "Do they not pass through the earth, and see what has been the end of those who were before them? They were more numerous than these, and more mighty in strength, and left more considerable monuments of their power in the earth."—*Qorán*, 40, 82. Yet Makkah was still prosperous: "Verily I have permitted these Makkians and their fathers to live in prosperity."—*Qorán*, 43, 28.

(2.) I beg leave to insert here two edifying specimens, in which the pleasures of Mo*h*ammad's paradise are described:—

اخرج ابويعلي والبيهقي بسند حسن عن ابن عباس رضي الله تعالى
عنهما قال قيل يارسول الله انفضي الى نسايا في الجنة كما نفضي اليهن
في الدنيا قال والذي نفسي بيده ان الرجل ليفضي في الغداة الواحدة

not effeminate. Some men were addicted to drinking; and *Táyif* was celebrated for its wine shops. Singers, dancing girls, and juglers were not unknown in the land of the patriarchs. A man of *Táyif* thought it even worth his while to go to Persia, to study medicine, and to practise as a physician among the Arabs.

SECOND CHAPTER.

Legendary History of the Ka'bah and the Ancestors of Mohammad. Predictions of his Advent.

Our lower passions are counterpoised by sublime and pure, but visionary, sentiments; and as even the best of us steer only a middling course in their actions, the more exalted give vent to their feelings in poetical effusions: they endow a fictitious person with all the qualities which they consider virtue; and they construct a history, in which all their dreams and wishes are realized. The less poetical feel a satisfaction in listening to them, and adopt their productions as their own children. It is compatible with such fictions, that they be founded on facts: a real person may be the hero of a poet. Has not the statue of Apollo, which enchants us, been made of a crude stone, merely by removing parts? A biography may contain no falsehood, and yet be poetical, if the author

الى ماية عذراء واخرج هناد والبيهقي عن ابي هريرة رضي الله عنهما انه سئل هل يمس اهل الجنة ازواجهم قال نعم بذكرلا يمل وفرج لا يحفي وشهوة لا تنقطع

Some of the poems of *Hassán*, a contemporary of Mo*h*ammad, are exceeding gross.

omits what does not suit his purpose, and skilfully distributes over the remaining facts light and shade.

In a poetical age of religious excitement, from which the origin of a new creed is inseparable, such fictions will have a religious tendency. They will be limited in number and character; because the objects, which fill the imagination, are but few. They will be generally received; for the meditations of all are concentrated in the same point. And they will at length be believed; for they are connected with faith.

Speculation made early demands on the Islám, for which its founder had not fully provided, either because he was unable to do so, or because he and his contemporaries did not feel the want. Soon after Mo*h*ammad's death the catechumeni wished to know whether he had authenticated his mission by miracles, similar to those wrought by the prophets, from whose ranks they were invited to desert? Whether his advent had been foretold? Whether the origin of the Islám was consistent with the notions which they entertained of the creation, fallen condition, and salvation of man? Whether it was eternal and catholic? Whether there was guarantee for the sacredness of the ceremonies, which they were called upon to perform at the Ka'bah? The apostles of the new faith were anxious to satisfy their disciples on these and similar points: for how should a proud Arab allow that his prophet should be inferior to any other?[1] Moreover, gross no-

(1.) "All the excellencies of former prophets were united in Mo*h*ammad. He was the representative of God on earth, like Adam and David; he was a sovereign, like Solomon; he was handsome, like Joseph (of Egypt); he was the friend of God, like Abraham; he was the eloquent spokesman of God, like Moses (and Aaron); he was devout, like Jonah; he was grateful, like Noah; but in addition to these, he had many excellencies, which none of the former prophets possessed." *Tahryr al-Shahádatoyn*, lithographed at Delhi, A. H. 1258.

There is a tradition of Jábir in the Mishkát, II, p. 656, in which Mo*h*ammad says: "I have been given five qualities, which no one was given before me: I have been given victory, by throwing fear into the hearts of my enemies, at a distance of a month's journey from them: and the whole face of the earth has been

tions of a rude age were to be covered and mystified, and questions, on which Mo*h*ammad had laid but little weight, were to be developed. To supply what seemed to be wanting, pious fraud assisted imagination, by furnishing arguments for its creations. Well calculated fictions were believed in the age of faith; and many of them became dogmas for succeeding centuries.

In this manner a mythology grew up during the first two centuries after Mo*h*ammad; and, though his doctrine or facts form merely the nucleus, it must be considered as an essential part of the Musulman religion. Later ages have much added to it; but their fictions are arbitrary and extravagant; they want unity of purpose, and bear the character of a foreign addition to, and corruption of, the Islám. In the primitive age the Musulmans were led, by a love for truth, to faith: at a later period a blind faith has induced them to disregard truth. Their modern fictions, for want of universality, are neither mythical nor symbolical. I have, therefore, carefully selected merely ancient legends, which are characteristic, generally believed, and many of which are articles of faith for the true believer.

Musulman authors, not contented with shaping the biography of Mo*h*ammad after that of the prophets, made theirs approach to his. A learned Shiah author wrote a book,[1] the principal object of which is, to shew that every prophet has made a Hijrah (flight). He mentions the flight of Abraham, that of Moses to Midian, that of our Saviour to Egypt, &c. They also made the most arbitrary alterations in the cosmogony and in other parts of the biblical history.

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made pure for me, to worship upon; and plunder has been made lawful for me; and the prophets sent formerly were merely to their own sects, and had no business with others; but I have been sent to all men."

(1.) *Ikmál aldyn.* The name of the author is Abú Ja'far b. Bábawayh.

Mo*h*ammad said: "I was entrusted with the prophetic mission, when Adam was still half air and half body."[1]

"A tradition, which is traced to the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alyy b. Abú *T*álib, tell us, that when God intended to establish the laws of the universe, to lay the seeds of generation, and to produce the creation, he gave to it the form of fine dust, before he formed the earth and raised the heavens. He dwelt in his unapproachable glory, and in the unity of his power. Then he put down a particle of his light, and it shone resplendently. The dust rose, and the light was gathered in its centre. This represented our prophet Mo*h*ammad. God said: Thou art the chosen and the elect! In thee rest my light, and the abundant gifts of my bounty; for thy sake I have spread the soil, and made flow the waters; for thy sake I have raised the heavens, and fixed rewards and punishments; and for thy sake I have created paradise and hell."[2]

When Adam was created, the "light (soul) of Mo*h*ammad,"[3] was transferred into him; and though it was latent, a luminous ray shone forth from his forehead; and when Eve was enceinte with Seth, her forehead was resplendent; and after his birth it shone forth from the forehead of the infant. In this manner it descended through the ancestors of the prophet, until it assumed flesh in MOHAMMAD, the son of 'Abd Allah.[4]

(1.) Tradition in Tirmidzy.—There are various versions of this tradition. One version, and this is probably the original one, runs :—" Verily I was written down by God as the last prophet, and verily Adam was in his own clay."—*Mishkát*, p. 659. That is to say, I was destined to be a prophet before Adam was created. " I am the first prophet created, and the last sent."
انا اول الانبياء خلقا واخرهم بعثا *Mawáhib Lad.*—" The first thing created by God was my light." Notwithstanding these traditions, I suspect that the theory of the núr Mo*h*ammad is an invention of the second or third century of the Hijrah.

(2.) Mas'údy, *Meadows of Gold*, I. p. 51. Good Sunnies reject this tradition.

(3.) Núr Mo*h*ammad, i. e. Light of Mo*h*ammad, is a technical term, and frequently used as a proper name.

(4.) Mas'údy *ibidem*; and confirmed by the following Sunny tradition, of Abú

At Na'mán,[1] near Makkah, Adam had a vision, in which he saw how God produced all human beings, that were to be called to life until the day of resurrection, from his back; he passed them in review before him, and took the covenant[2] from them, saying, "Am I not your Lord?" They all answered, "We bear witness, that thou art our Lord." Those who do not believe the religion of Mohammad cannot, therefore, say, on the day of judgement, "We did not know better."[3] God then separated the good from the bad, and placed the former at his right, saying, "To these belongs paradise." The wicked he placed on the left, and said, "For these is hell." The first man who came forth from the back of Adam was Mohammad. He said, "I declare that there is no God but God, and I am his servant and prophet;" and having pronounced these words he went to the right, to the head of the elect of God. On this occasion God also took the covenant from the prophets, to believe in Mohammad, and to assist him.[4]

When the prophets passed before Adam, he observed that one of them wept bitterly. He asked who he was; and God informed him that he was David; and that he cried because his life had been limited to forty years. "Thou hast granted me," said Adam, "a life of one thousand years: take sixty years from me, and add them to the life of my son Da-

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Horayrah: "Mohammad said, I have been sent from the best class of the children of Adam; age after age I passed in the backs of my fathers, till I came from the class from which I came." *Mishkát*, II. p. 655.

(1.) *Tarykh Khamys.* Ghazzály writes Ya'mar. The place is near the 'Arafát.

(2.) Ghazzály *Hist. of the Prophets.* The story rests on the Qorán, 7, 171, and on a tradition contained in the *Mishkát*.

(3.) The definition, given by the Roman Catholics, of catholicity, is, "quod semper, ubique, et ab omnibus creditum est." The Musulmáns appear to have been well aware that catholicity is an indispensable criterium of the truth of a religion; and *their* history of Adam and of the Ka'bah tends to secure it for the Islám.

(4.) *Qorán*, 3, 75.—This story is an imitation of a Jewish legend, according to which all the prophets, even those who were not yet born, were present on Mount Sinai, when God gave the law to Moses.

vid." When Adam had passed nine hundred and forty years of age, the angel of death came to him, to demand his soul. "But God has granted me a life of one thousand years." "Hast thou not ceded sixty years to the prophet David?" "I have no recollection of it," replied Adam; "and it cannot be true." The father of mankind is the father of deception. God, therefore, ordered man, through Seth, to make engagements in writing, and to call witnesses, in order that they may not be broken; and few nations are more business-like than the Arabs in such deeds.[1]

The persecution, to which every prophet is exposed, is foreshadowed in the murder of Abel; but the first example of defending and propagating the true religion by the sword is hardly less ancient: Idrys invented arms, and destroyed the children of Cain.[2] On this occasion, as in all religious wars, God was with the righteous.

After Adam had been expelled from paradise, he said in his grief, "O Lord, in that abode of bliss I heard the voice of angels, and I witnessed how they went round thy throne singing thy praise." God in his mercy sent an angel to him, who took him into the sacred territory, ordered him to build a place of worship,[3] and taught him the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, which, during the time of paganism, consisted chiefly in walking round the temples of the idols, and which are essentially identical with those performed by the angels before the throne of God. Adam, who had not seen Eve since

(1.) This myth, the intention of which is to shew the frailty of the promises of man, unless made in a legal way, has most likely emanated from Mo*h*ammad. We have it in a tradition of Abú Dzarr Ghifáry *apud* Ghazzály, *Hist. of the Prophets*. Kisáy relates the same tradition on the authority of Ibn 'Abbás.

(2.) A tradition of Wahb b. Monabbih *apud* Kisáy; also mentioned (without stating the authority) by Ghazzály.

(3.) "The first Temple erected for mankind is certainly that of Makkah."—*Qorán*, 3. 90. This is the only sentence of the Qorán, which the Musulmáns adduce in proof of their assertion, that Adam first built the Ka'bah. It appears, however, from the context, that Mo*h*ammad asserted, that Abraham founded it. According to a tradition of Abú Dzarr, (Taysyr, p. 367), Mo*h*ammad said, that the temple of Jerusalem was built forty years after that of Makkah.

they had been expelled from paradise, found her, on this occasion, on a hill near Makkah. In cemmemoration of this meeting the hill is, up to this day, called 'Arafát, that is to say, the place of recognition; and it is one of the sacred spots visited by the pilgrims. Adam generally resided in India; for God has so furnished that country, that man is independent of the arts of life in it; but for forty years he annually performed the pilgrimage to Makkah.[1]

The prototype of the Ka'bah is in heaven. All supernatural beings turn their faces to it in their prayers. God sent a likeness of it, made of sheets of light, to Adam, and he or Seth made the Ka'bah like it.[2] Mount Sinai, the mount Olivet, Lebanon, and the hill of Harà near Makkah, furnished the materials.[3]

The rod of Moses and the black stone of the Ka'bah descended with Adam from paradise. The latter was as white as snow, and turned black on account of the sins of man. When Adam performed the pilgrimage the first time, he placed it on mount Qobays, where it remained until the Qorayshites (i. e. Qoçayy) removed it into the Ka'bah.[4]

The flood destroyed the temple of Adam; yet though it was not rebuilt before Abraham, Makkah continued to be the "proof of the one God" on earth, even for the pagans. They knew, by tradition, that the soil of Makkah was sacred, and that it was the site of the temple of the God of heaven; and so perfectly convinced were they of this truth, that in cases of need or distress they resorted thither and offered their prayers; and they were granted by God, in order to keep up the belief in the sanctity of Makkah, and to leave no excuse to the unbeliever, who might say, I worshipped idols, and did

(1.) Ghazzály, *Hist. of the Prophets.*
(2.) Shahrastány, p. 430.
(3.) Wáqidy, c. 2.
(4.) Tradition of Ibn 'Abbás *apud* Wáqidy, c. 2. Compare *Taysyr*, p. 367. This passage tends to shew that the Ka'bah was first built by Qoçayy.

not venerate the sacred territory, because I did not know better.[1]

The history of Abraham excited a great interest among the Arabs, and their poetical genius enlarged the legends referring to their patriarch, and connected them with their own manners and localities,[2] as is illustrated in the following highly poetical, and probably very ancient story, in which Abraham's abhorrence[3] of a breach of hospitality, the chief virtue of an Arab, is described:—Ishmael had married an Amalekite woman. Abraham, having obtained leave from Sarah to go on a visit to his son, came to Makkah, but found that Ishmael was gone out hunting, and Hagar was tending the flocks. The partriarch greeted Ishmael's wife, who was alone at home. She did not know him, and did not return his salám. Abraham asked her whether she would receive him as a guest; but she refused. "Where is the master of the house?" "He is out." "Tell him, when he comes home, that Abraham has been here, to enquire after him and his mother, and that he left word for him to change the threshold of his house." Having said so he immediately returned to Syria. Ishmael, on his return home, observed that the whole valley of Makkah was embued with light; and he asked his wife what had happened? She gave him the message from Abraham. "This was my father, the friend of God," said Ishmael; "and the meaning of his words is, that I should divorce thee, and send thee back to thy family."[4]

The jealousy of Sarah against Hagar was caused by disap-

(1.) Ghazzály, *Hist. of the Prophets*, in the chapter on the 'Ádites, which has been printed in the *Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, *Jan.* 1849.

(2.) Many examples of the Arab's resorting to the Jews of the Hijáz for information respecting religion and history, are mentioned by Ibn Is*h*áq. The form of names will sometimes point out the source of information. The name of Abraham was pronounced Abrahah in Yaman, and Ibráhym by the Jews of Madynah; and is so spelled in the Qorán.

(3.) Abraham is called the father of hospitality (Abú Idhyáf).—A tradition of 'Ikrimah *apud* Wáqidy, 5.

(4.) Mas'údy, cap. 39.

pointed hope. She had expected that the light of Mo*h*ammad, which shone from Abraham's forehead, would be perpetuated through her; but when Hagar had given birth to Ishmael, it was transferred to the son of her handmaid. By the command of Providence Abraham gave way to the fury of his wife, and took the infant and his mother on the Boráq to the valley of Makkah. He left them on the spot, on which the Ka'bah had stood before the flood, saying, "O Lord, I have caused some of my descendants to settle in an unfruitful valley, near thy holy house, O Lord, that they may be constant in prayer. Grant, therefore, that the hearts of some men may be affected with kindness towards them."[1] Hagar and her son were thirsty, and the distressed mother ran from one hill to the other, to find water; but in vain.[2] Ishmael, mean while, shuffled his feet impatiently on the ground, and behold! a copious spring of water gushed forth. Hagar, with a view to collect it, made a wall of mud and stones round it. An angel reproached her for covetousness, and the spring became less abundant. This is the origin of the well Zamzam, whose waters are sacred to this day.[3]

An Amalekite tribe[4] was in the neighborhood of Makkah; and its reconnoiterers, who had been sent in search of water, observed that birds were hovering over the valley. They concluded there must be water there; and when they descended they found the spring, and Hagar and Ishmael were sitting near it. They asked permission for their tribe to encamp,

(1.) *Qorán*, 14, 40.

(2.) One of the ceremonies of the pilgrimage is, *therefore*, to run seven times from mount Çafá to Marwah. It has been observed above, (page 8), that the true cause of this ceremony was, that the ancient Arabs had an idol on each of these two hills.

(3.) This story, though not explicitly told in the Qorán, is very old, and related by *T*abary. All authors, who tell us this story, allow, at the same time, that the Zamzam was first sunk by 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib: see page 31. I have heard from pilgrims, that the water is more than twelve feet from the surface, and brackish.

(4.) According to Mas'údy it was called Karkar; and according to the Kitáb al-Agháni it was called Qa*t*úrá. Mas'údy calls Qa*t*úrá a son of Karkar.

which was readily granted. They settled in the lower part of the valley. The Jorhomites, who came to Makkah either with or after the Amalekites, occupied the upper part of the valley.

After Ishmael had divorced his Amalekite wife, he married Ri'lah daughter of the chief[1] of the Jorhomites.

Abraham asked Sarah again for permission to visit Ishmael. It was granted; but under the condition, that he should not dismount from the Boráq. He found Ri'lah alone at home. She treated him with milk and game, and anointed his head. Whilst she was performing this act of hospitality, she put a stone, first under his right foot; and the patriarch stood upon it, and leaned from the Boráq towards her, to enable her to reach his head; then she put it under his left foot. To this day the stone bears the impression of Abraham's feet, and is an object of veneration. It is placed on the right side of the Ka'bah, and has the name of maqám Ibráhym.[2]

When Ishmael was thirty years of age, Abraham built with him the Ka'bah.[3] Its materials were again taken from various sacred hills. As soon as the temple was completed, the patriarch proclaimed, that it was the duty of all the nations of the earth to perform pilgrimages to it,[4] and he prayed to God to send to those whose temple the Ka'bah was, a prophet from among themselves, who would teach them the Qorân.[5]

It is an error to believe that Abraham was commanded by God to put Is*h*áq to death. Are not the bloody sacrifices, which are slaughtered during the pilgrimage, in Minà near

(1.) His name was Midhádh b. 'Amr. According to Kalby, Ri'lah was the daughter of Yashjob b. Ya'rob b. Lúdzén b. Jorhom b. 'Ámir b. Sabá. See an account of the Amalekites and Jorhomites in page 13.

(2.) Mas'údy.

(3.) That Abraham and Ishmael built the Ka'bah, is maintained in several passages of the Qorán:—2, 121; 10, 93; 22, 27.

(4.) *Qorán*, 22, 28.

(5.) *Qorán*, 2, 124, Comp. Lane's *Select. from the Kurán*, p. 155.

Makkah, performed in remembrance of this event? If it had happened in Syria, and not in Minà, God would have commanded that this ceremony be kept up in Syria.[1] Not only the sacrifices, but also the casting of stones, during the pilgrimage of Minà, is done in commemoration of that event. Satan attempted to prevent Abraham from performing the sacrifice; and the patriarch pelted him with pebbles.

Ishmael died at the age of one hundred and thirty-seven years, and was buried with his mother in the *H*ijr.[2] He had twelve sons by Ri'lah. The eldest succeeded him in the charge of the Ka'bah; but after his death it devolved upon Ishmael's father-in-law, and did not revert to the children of Ishmael before Qoçayy.

For some time the religion of Abraham was kept up at Makkah; but it became corrupted. According to some authors the Ka'bah was first defiled by the Jorhomites; and according to others by the Khozá'ahites. A Jorhomite, of the name of Isáf, committed fornication in the Ka'bah with Náylah; and as a punishment they were both converted into stone, that they might be a warning to posterity. He was placed on mount Çafá, and she on mount Marwah. The history of these two statues was soon forgotten, and they were worshipped as idols. Others say, that the Jorhomites, who were related to Ishmael, and intermarried with his descendants, preserved the religion of Abraham at Makkah; and they give the credit of having first introduced idolatry, to the first Khozá'ahite chief 'Amr b. Lo*h*ayy. On a journey in Syria he saw people worshipping an image, and he asked them for the reason. "This is our God," they said, "who gives us rain when we pray for it." 'Amr was delighted to

(1.) *Tarykh Khamys.*
(2.) "*H*ijr is (outside the Ka'bah) between the Syrian (northern) pillar, which is usually called the pillar of 'Iráq, and the western pillar. It is an enclosure, paved with marble, and surrounded with a semicircular painted wall."—Fásy.

know how to obtain rain; and at his request they gave him the idol Hobal,[1] and he placed it in the Ka'bah. The Jorhomite poets admonished him in vain to uphold the religion of Abraham.[2] He imported idols without number into the sacred territory.

Qoçayy, the fifth ancestor of Mo*h*ammad, was a descendant of Ishmael. The prophet allowed that his genealogy from 'Adnán to Ishmael was uncertain; but the zeal of his followers made up for this deficiency. Some genealogists put eight[3] fathers between these two; and others thirty-eight.[4] They all agree on the fathers between 'Adnán and Mo*h*ammad.

In Qoçayy the light of the prophet shone forth with peculiar brilliancy; and the Kinánah and 'Odzrah tribes lent him their assistance in his efforts to obtain the priesthood of the *H*aram, because they well knew that the Khozá'ahites were usurping the rights of the Qorayshites, the sons of Ishmael. In the same manner in which Is*h*áq bought the right of primogeniture, Qoçayy obtained the keys of the Ka'bah for a leather bag of wine.[5]

The attentions paid by the Emperor[6] to Háshim were not disinterested. The prophetic light was so evident in him, that every Rabbin who passed him kissed his hand; and many a daughter of Israel came to Makkah, with a hope that her charms would attract the rough Arab. The Emperor,

(1.) See the history of Hobal in page 7. The inhabitants of Syria and Arabia Petræa had, long before 'Amr b. Lo*h*ayy, embraced the Christian religion.

(2.) For specimens see Mas'údy.

(3.) They are:—Nabaioth, Yashjob, Ya'rob, Tyra*h*, Náhor, Moqawwim, Odad, Odd, 'Adnán (Ibn Isháq).

(4.) Ishmael, Qaydzar, Arrám, 'Uç, Mizzy, Shamy, Zári*h*, Náhith, Moqçy, Abhám, Aqnad, Ayçar, Dayshán, 'Ayfy, Ara'wá, Yal*h*an, Nakhzan, Sharby, Sanbar, Hamdány, al-Da'ámir, 'Abqar, 'Ayfy, Makhy, Ná*h*ish, Jáhim, *T*ábikh, Tadlán, Baldás, *H*azzá, Náshid, al-'Awwám, Obayy, Qamwál, Búr, 'Uç, Salámán, al-Hamaysa', Odad, 'Adnán—(Hishám Kalby *apud* Wáqidy. Compare *Kitáb al-Aghany*, edit. Koseg. p. 12.) This list seems to have been furnished by Jews. See what has been said on the genealogy of Mo*h*ammad in page 18.

(5.) See Freytag's *Prov. Arab. voce akhsar.*

(6.) See page 27.

having read a description of the light of prophecy in the gospels, offered him his daughter in marriage, in order that she might give birth to the grand-father of Mo*h*ammad. But Háshim had a dream, in which Salmà of Madynah was pointed out as his bride elect. He added her, in his old age, to his well stocked zenánah, and she bore him 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib.[1]

When 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib had received charge of the stewardship, he had a vision, in which he was ordered to dig for the "good." He answered, "What is the good?" The next night he heard a voice, commanding him to dig for the "pure;" and he asked, "What is the pure?" The third night he was told to dig for the "perfume." "What is the perfume?" In the fourth night the voice said, "Dig for the murmuring" (Zamzam); and he replied, "What is the Zamzam?" The voice continued, "It will not become dry, nor will it ever be despised; it will yield water for the great pilgrimage; it is between the dunghill and the blood, near the nest of the raven with red beak and feet; it will be thy watering place and that of thy children." He understood these directions, and the next morning began to sink a well in the slaughtering place, which is the favorite resort of the ravens. On the third day he found the masonry of an old well. He thanked God, and said, This is the well of Ishmael.[2] The Qorayshites, seeing that he would find water, disputed his right to the well; and it was agreed that the soothsayer of Mo'án should decide on their conflicting claims. On the road to the arbitrator's the party nearly perished for want of water; when a spring gushed forth from under the foot of 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib's camel. This miracle satisfied them as to the right of 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib to the property of the well of Zamzam; and they returned to Makkah. According to a

(1.) *Tarykh Khamys.*
(2.) So far I have translated literally from Wáqidy and Ibn Is*h*áq.

tradition of Mijlaz,[1] 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib found in the well two gazelles of silver, some arms, and five cuirasses, which had been buried there by the Jorhomites. The Qorayshites laid claim to a share of the property, and boasted of their large families. 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib, who had then only one son, felt humiliated, and made a vow, that if ten children were born to him he would immolate one of them as a sacrifice. What he had wished for was granted; and the lot, that was to decide which of his sons was to die, fell on 'Abd Allah, the father of the prophet,[2] whose life was threatened even before he existed. 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib had set the knife on the throat of his son, when the Makhzúmites prevented him from following the dictates of his cruel piety.

The destruction of the host of Abrahah, (see page 35), is related as follows:—When he drew near Makkah, his elephant refused to proceed. He knelt down when turned towards the Ka'bah; though he would rise, and march briskly enough in any other direction. Before the viceroy had recovered from his surprise, a flight of birds (abábyl), resembling swallows, came from the sea-coast, and hovered over the army. Every bird had a stone in his bill, and one on each foot; and these stones they threw on the heads of Abrahah's men, who instantly died from them. Then came a flood, and swept the dead and the living together into the sea. A few fled towards Yaman; but destruction overtook them on the road. Abrahah alone reached Çan'á; but soon after his arrival he was struck with the plague and putrefaction, and his limbs rotted and dropped off one by one. One man was saved, to bring the intelligence to the Negush. When he had related the fate of his brethren, the king asked him what kind of birds had caused the destruction of the army? and behold! there

(1.) *Apud* Wáqidy. The story is also in Ibn Is*h*áq.
(2.) Mo*h*ammad said that he was the ibn dzaby*h*ayn, i. e. the son of two sacrifices, Ishmael and 'Abd Allah.

was one hovering over the doomed head of the messenger, who was instantly struck by the fatal stone.

The author of the Mowáhib Ladonnyyah shews how these miracles were connected with the prophetic light, which then dwelt in 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib (if the author had attended to chronology, he would have said, in Áminah). His supernatural powers were so great, that whenever the Qorayshites wanted rain, they took him by the hand, and lead him to the top of the hill Thabyr. At the approach of the host of Abrahah to the city of Makkah they did the same. The light of the prophet shone from his forehead in the shape of a cone like the full moon, and rays fell on the Ka'bah. When 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib saw this he said, "Return to Makkah; God will fight for your cause." "This," adds the edified author, "shows the nobility of our prophet."

The advent of Mo*h*ammad was predicted among the Arabs four hundred years before it happened; and so strong was their conviction of the truth, that they were guided by it in their politics.

As'ad, the last of the Tobba's, undertook an expedition to the east ('Iráq?) He passed Madynah,[1] and left one of his sons there. No sooner had his father left the city, than he was treacherously assassinated. On his return the Tobba' was determined to revenge the death of his son by the destruction of Madynah and its palm groves. At the approach of the hostile army to the town, two venerable Rabbins of the Jewish tribe of Qoraytzah prostrated themselves before As'ad, and told him that this city would be the refuge of the Arabic prophet; and if he should destroy it, he would not escape the

(1.) According to Ibn Is*h*áq, the Tobba' finds the Aws and Khazraj tribes at Madynah; but according to a tradition of Çádiq, in the *Hayát alqolúb*, c. 2, he took them to Madynah and left them there as a colony, because he knew that Mo*h*ammad would take refuge in that city. This version is evidently nearer the truth — the reign of the Tobba' and the immigration of the Awsites and Khazrajites into Madynah being undoubtedly synchronous.

punishment of God. He saw that what they stated was true, left the city undisturbed,[1] and requested them to follow him to Yaman. Makkah lay on his road. Before he reached that town, some men of the Hodzayl tribe came into his camp, and said, "O king, shall we shew thee a treasury, which has escaped the avarice of former conquerors? It is filled with pearls, precious stones, gold and silver." "And where is it?" "It is in a shrine at Makkah, which is sacred to the inhabitants." The intention of the Hodzaylites was, to destroy the army of As'ad; for they knew right well what had befallen former kings, who had dared to invade the holy city. He sent for the two Rabbins, and asked their advice. "Beware!" said they. "These men wish thy destruction. God has selected this temple in preference to all other places of worship on earth; and if thou shouldst profane it, thou mayst be sure that ruin will befal thee." When the king had arrived in the sacred territory he had his head shaved like a pilgrim, went round the Ka'bah, and, in obedience to a vision, he covered it with precious cloths. According to the general opinion, he was the first who covered it. He also had a door made to the Ka'bah, and provided it with lock and key; and he ordered the Jorhomites, who were then in charge of it, to take care that it be not defiled by blood being spilled in it, or by dead bodies, or women at certain times. When he came to Yaman, he embraced the Jewish religion, and called on his subjects to follow his example.

After As'ad's death, his sons being minors, Raby'ah, of the Lakhm tribe, was appointed Regent. Raby'ah had a dream, which greatly alarmed him. He called all the soothsayers and astrologers of his kingdom, and said, "I had a dream: relate it to me, and explain its meaning." "Tell us thy dream, and we will explain it to thee." "Unless you can

(1.) According to some authors he left a letter for Mo*h*ammad, which was duly forwarded to him, on his arrival at Madynah.

relate to me what I have seen," said the king, "I can place no reliance on your explanation." At the advice of one of his courtiers he sent for Satyh and Shaqq. Satyh arrived first, and said, "Thou sawest a burning coal; it came from a dark hole; over the Tihámah it did roll; and destroyed every soul." "Thou speakest the truth," replied the king; "but what is the meaning of this vision?" "I swear by every man, who lives between the Horratán, that the people of Súdán will overrun the country from Aden to Najrán." The king now asked, when it was to happen—during his reign, or after it? "Sixty or seventy years after thy reign." "And will the Abyssinian yoke over Yaman last?" "No; they will be expelled by a man of the house of Dzú-l-Yazan." "And will that family rule for ever?" "No; a prophet will arise from among the descendants of Ghálib b. Fihr, who will be the king of his nation, and his family will rule for ever."[1] When Satyh had spoken, Shaqq was called; and he explained the dream nearly in the same words, though the possibility of collusion had been prevented. This prophecy made so deep an impression upon the king, that he sent his children to the frontiers of Persia, where his son 'Adyy married a princess of Hyrah, and succeeded to the throne of that country.[2]

There were few public occasions, after these events, on which the Arabs did not express their joy at the prospect that a prophet would arise among them.

(1.) This piece of flattery to the 'Abbásides has not been borne out by history.

(2.) 'Adyy was the founder of the Lakhmite dynasty, which ruled at Hyrah in the name of the kings of Persia. Ibn Qotaybah says, on the genealogy of the Lakhmites, "It has been asserted that Naçr, the father of 'Adyy, was a son of Sátirún, who was the king of the Assyrians, and the lord of the castle. He was a Jaramaqánian, (i. e. of Garamœi), of the people of Mosul, of the district called Ajaromy (Ajorrúmy?) But Jobayr b. Mot'im mentions that he was of the banú Qonnoç b. Ma'add b. 'Aduán." The ethnography of the Lakhmites would appear, from this, to be extremely doubtful, it being even uncertain to which of the two great divisions of Arabic tribes they belonged.

THIRD CHAPTER.

*On the Sources of the Biography of Mo*h*ammad.*

The chief object of the first heroes of the Islám was, to spread the doctrine of Mo*h*ammad their prophet. The bravest man of an Arabic tribe was, from time immemorial, the most eloquent. In like manner, in the beginning of the Islám the greatest warriors were the best informed and most ardent teachers of the new faith.[1] The general of an army was the spiritual guide of his men. The sayings and actions of their prophet were, for these armed apostles, as many laws for their believers.

Yet we have no book on the history of Mo*h*ammad, which received a definite form during his life-time. The Qorán itself was gathered from memoranda, and from the mouth of the people, and brought into its present form, several years after the death of its author. I shall speak of that work in another chapter: it suffices here to observe that, though it may not be free from interpolations, yet there seems to be no reason for doubting its authenticity.

Several documents and treaties of Mo*h*ammad were still in force at the time of Hárún al-Rashyd; and were then collected.[2] We cannot, therefore, doubt their authenticity. We have also a collection of the poems of *H*assán[3] of Madynah,

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(1.) Ibn Khaldún has a chapter on the honor, which was attached to the office of teacher, in the beginning of the Islám.

(2.) They are in Abú Yúsof's epistle to Hárún al-Rashyd, or rather to his talented wife. (Compare Mas'údy, c. III.) A copy of this valuable book is in my possession

(3.) " *H*assán b. Thábit b. al-Mondzir, of the Khazraj tribe, the poet of Mo*h*ammad, lived sixty lunar years before, and sixty after, he had become a Mos-

an early convert to the Islám. He composed odes on the Battle of the Ditch, the conquest of Makkah, and on other events in the life of Mohammad; but he shines particularly in his satires against the enemies of the new religion.

Writing and book-learning were not in the plan of the Bedouin prophet and his immediate followers; nor were they needed. The fundamental principle of his doctrine, being truth, is simple; "There is but one God!" And the picture which he gave of God is more directed to the imagination than to reason. Mohammad had an aversion to scribes and monks; and on various occasions forbade his followers to imitate the example of the Jews and Christians, by consigning his doctrine to dead books,[1] and adulterating it by cavillings and discussions. It was to live in the hearts and memories of the faithful. But on other occasions he recommended to them to devote themselves to the aquisition of knowledge.[2]

Mohammad was short and bombastic in his expressions, and cautious and oracular in his answers. It was easier to remember than to understand them. His sayings, which were listened to with avidity by his followers, formed, even during his life-time, the principal topic of the conversation of, and a subject of study for, the faithful. When he died,

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lim."—Ibn Qotaybah. According to a tradition of his grandson, Sa'yd b. 'Abd al-Rahmán b. *Hassán*, (*apud* Ibn Isháq, p. 30), *Hassán* was seven or eight years older than Mohammad.

(1.) "'Omar said to Mohammad, 'O Messenger of God, the Jews relate traditions: shall we not also write down some?' Mohammad looked at him, and anger was visible in his face; and he said, 'Will you become confused, as the Jews and Christians were confused?'"—Trad. of al-*Hasan* Baçry, in the *Bostán* of Abú-l-Layth. "Abú Sa'yd Khodry asked Mohammad for permission to take down information in writing; and it was refused."—Tradition of 'Atá b. Yasár, *ibidem*. See also Taysyr, p. 319, where there is a tradition of Khodry: The prophet said, "Do not write any thing from me besides the Qorán. Whoever has written any thing besides the Qorán is to efface it." "Ibn 'Abbás forbade writing; for he said, Those before you erred on account of writing."—Tradition of al-*Hosayn* b. Moslim, *ibidem*. What *Hájy* Khalfa, I. p. 78, mentions as a tradition, is the opinion of Abú-l-Layth, and not a tradition.

(2.) Many traditions in this sense are in the Taysyr, p. 317.

he left no less than one hundred and twenty thousand followers, who had listened to his instructions, and who repeated his sayings.[1] By some of them upwards of two thousand traditions have been handed down to posterity.

During the first twenty years after Mo*h*ammad's death, the Moslims settled mostly in large military cantonments (jonúd), in Babylonia, Persia, Syria and Egypt; and when they were free from war, they devoted themselves to poetry, and to listening to the traditions of their prophet. Those of his companions (aç*h*àb) who had been much about his person, were surrounded by large circles of pupils, who had not seen him, and who are called Tábi'ys. The more diligent among the latter, not satisfied with hearing traditions from the mouth of the elders of their own cantonment, travelled from place to place, to collect as many as possible; and they carefully compared their different versions.

The Mo*h*ammadans conceive that all the companions of the prophet are trust-worthy witnesses; and considering that they were mostly unsophisticated people; that they lived in great numbers together; and that they taught the traditions publicly; it is not likely that they deviated much from the truth.[2]

Towards the end of the first century of the Hijrah, when the companions of Mo*h*ammad had died away, the Tábi'ys became the authorities of the history and doctrine of the Ara-

(1.) "Bokháry mentions, in his *Tarykh*, all the traditionists from Mo*h*ammad to A. H. 250; and they amount to forty thousand. Out of these it was thought that two hundred and twenty-six are not deserving of credit. Bokháry and Moslim have taken traditions only from the most approved men; they are less than two thousand; yet the remaining may be relied upon."—*Kanz al-Jawáhir*, by Behlo'l. The biographical dictionary of the companions of Mo*h*ammad, called *Osod al-Ghábah*, contains no less than seven thousand five hundred biographies; yet it is far from being complete. The *Içábah*, another work on the same subject, to judge from the size, contains at least ten thousand.

(2.) How carefully the Moslims excluded, in early times, unauthentic records of their prophet, is shown in the following example. Moghyrah b. Sho'bah quoted a saying of Mo*h*ammad, on a doubtful point of law, before Abú Bakr; the Khalif asked him whether any body else had heard it from the prophet; and only after it had been confirmed by Mo*h*ammad b. Maslamah he acted upon it.—*Mishkát*, II. p. 71.

bic Lawgiver. They were innumerable; but about one hundred and forty were distinguished above all the rest for their knowledge of traditions. The Tábi'ys had again circles of disciples around them, who devoted their lives to collecting and comparing traditions, and who visited all the cantonments and learned elders for that purpose. It was the habit to mention, with every tradition, the authority from which it was derived. This habit has been preserved to this day. In a Mo*h*ammadan college certificate, the professor mentions his own teacher, and the teacher of his teacher, up to the author of the book, for proficiency in which he grants to his pupil a license (ijázat) to teach; and in the book itself, if it contain traditions, the authorities for every tradition are mentioned up to Mo*h*ammad. I give an example:—I have been informed by Mo*h*ammad b. Bashshár, that he had been informed by Ya*h*yà b. Sa'yd, who said that he had been informed by Hishám b. *H*assán, who said that he had it from al-*H*asan Baçryy, who said that he heard from 'Abd Allah b. Moghaffal, "that the prophet had been forbidden[1] (by God) to comb more frequently than every other day (or occasionally)." I have been informed by al-*H*asan b. 'Arafah, that he had been informed by 'Abd al-Salám b. *H*arb, who said that he had it from Yazyd b. Khâlid, who had it from Aby-l-'Alâ Awdy, who had it from *H*omayd b. 'Abd al-Ra*h*mán, who heard from one of the companions, "that the prophet combed only now and then (or every other day)."[2]

It is generally believed that the traditions were preserved, during the first century of the Hijrah, solely by memory. European scholars, under the erroneous impression that h*addathaná*, (I have been informed by,)[3] the term by which tradi-

(1.) The Calcutta edition has *nahá*, (i. e. Mo*h*ammad forbade to his followers), instead of *nohiya*.

(2.) *Shamáyil* of Tirmidzy, p. 50.

(3.) "The terms *h*addathaná, or akhbaraná, "I have been informed," "I have received intelligence," are used both if the pupil reads a tradition before his master, and if the master reads it before his pupil."—(Abú Hanyfah *apud Bostán*.) Some authors give to these two terms a still wider meaning, and use

tions are usually introduced, means exclusively oral information, are of opinion that none of the traditions contained in the collection of Bokháry had been written down before him. This, however, appears to be an error. Ibn 'Amr,[1] and other companions of Mo*h*ammad, committed his sayings to paper during his life-time; and their example was followed by several of the Tábi'ys.[2] When 'Omar b.'Abd al-'Azyz came to the throne (A. H. 99,) there was only one man alive who had heard the prophet;[3] and even many of the Tábi'ys had died away. The necessity of writing down every authentic record of Mo*h*ammad, which could be collected, being urgent, the Khálif issued a circular order to that effect; and commissioned Abú Bakr b. Mo*h*ammad more especially with the task of collecting traditions.[4] His efforts were seconded

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them if the student has obtained his information by book or letter, and not in the presence of his master.—*Ibidem.* The term for indirect communication, where the intermediate authorities are not known, is qála folános 'an folánin; and a tradition thus propagated is called mo'an'an.

(1.) 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr b. al-'Áç died in A. H. 63. He says, (*apud* Abú Dáwúd), "I was in the habit of writing down every word I heard from the prophet; but the Qorayshites wished to prevent me; and they said, Art thou writing down all his sayings, though he is but a man, who is lead by his likings and dislikings? Upon this I gave it up, until I mentioned it to the prophet. Pointing with his finger to his mouth he said, Write; for, by God, nothing but truth comes from my mouth." That Abú 'Amr used to write down the sayings of Mo*h*ammad is confirmed by traditions in Tirmidzy and Bokháry.

(2.) Abú Shaháb also wrote down traditions: "'Abd Allah b. 'Amr says, I was with Abú Shaháb when a book was brought to him by some people, who asked him, whether he knew this book? He answered, yes; it is mine. Upon this they were pleased with the book. He did not read it to them; nor did they read it before him; but they copied it, and propagated it, (saying, We have been informed (*h*addathaná) by Abú Shaháb.")—*Bostán* of Abú-l-Layth.

"Ráby' b. Anas says, My grandfather Zayd and his brother Ziyád used to visit Salmán (died in 35) at night; and he related to them traditions, and they were occupied with writing them down till morning."—*Bostán.*

(3.) "Names of the companions of Mo*h*ammad, who died latest: The last who died at Kúfah was 'Abd Allah b. Aby Awfá; he died in A. H. 86. The last who died at Madynah was Sahl b. Sa'd Sa'ydy, A. H. 91, one hundred years old. At al-Boçrah, Anas b. Málik, A. H. 91 or 93. In Syria, 'Abd Allah b. Bosr, A. H. 88. Wáthilah b. al-Asqa' died at Damascus, in 85, at an age of 98 years. Last of all died Abú-l-*T*ofayl 'Ámir b. Wáthilah; he died after A. H. 100. He was in all the wars of 'Alyy, and standard-bearer of Mokhtár. He believed in the millenium (raj'ah). (This doctrine was introduced, under 'Othmán, by a Jew, of the name of 'Abd Allah b. Sabá.")—Wáqidy, *apud* Ibn Qotaybah, *Kitáb al-Ma'árif.*

(4.) Qas*t*alány, *Comm. on Bokháry*, pref. c. 2.—Abú Bakr b. Mo*h*ammad b. 'Amr b. *H*azm died in 120, at an age of 84 years.

by the spirit of the age; and so extensive was Arabic literature, consisting chiefly of books containing traditions, in the beginning of the third century, that Wáqidy, who died in A. H. 207, A. D. 822, left a collection of books, which it took twelve hundred men to remove. The writings of that early period, however, were generally rather memoranda than systematic books.[1] Towards the end of the third century all the traditions, which were at all to be relied upon, had been collected in works, many of which are existing till this day; but it is certain that most of them had received a stereotype form previous to the beginning of the second century. Therefore the nearest view of the prophet which we can obtain is at a distance of one hundred years; and though we see him through the eyes of believers, our knowledge of their bias enables us to correct the media, and to make them almost achromatic. As all biographies of Mo*h*ammad rest on these ancient books, I name here such as may illustrate my subject. Among these the six canonical collections of the Sunnies,[2] and the four of the Shiahs[3] are the most

(1.) Yáqút's Biography of men of letters; and *Fihrist* of Ibn Ya'qúb Nadym.

(2.) They are—1. *Çahyh* of Bokhàry, born in 194, died in 256; it is being lithographed at Delhie. 2. That of Moslim, born 204, died 261. 3. The *Sonan* of Abú Dáwúd, (which has been lithographed at Lucknow), born 202, died 275. 4. That of Tirmidzy, died 279; it is being lithographed at Delhie. 5. That of Nasáy, (which has been lithographed at Delhie), died 303. 6. Ibn Májah, born 209, died 273. Besides these there are some other collections, (mostly founded on the preceding ones), which are much esteemed among the Sunnies, as that of Dárimy, died in 255; that of Dáraqo*t*ny, died in 385; of Abú No'aym, died 430; of Isma'yly, born 277; of Barqány, born 336, died 425; of A*h*mad Sonny, born 364; of Bayhaqy, born 384, died 458; of *H*omaydy, died 408; of Kha*tt*áby; of Baghawy, died 516; of Razyn, died 520; of Jazary Ibn al-Athyr (Mobárik), died 606; of Ibn al-Jawzy, died in 597; of Nawáwy, died 676. The *Taysyr al-woçúl ilá al-oçúl*, and the *Mishkát*, which I frequently quote, contain the traditions of the six canonical books; but the sanad, or string of authorities, is omitted in them. I also frequently used Nawawy's Commentary on Moslim, of which I possess a very correct copy.

(3.) They are —1. *Káfy*, of Kolyny, (Abú Ja'far Mo*h*ammad b. Ya'qúb), died in 328. This is a very large work; and even at Lucknow good copies are rare. 2. *Man lá yahdhoroho al-faqyh*, by Abú Ja'far Mo*h*ammad b. 'Alyy b. al-*H*osayn b. Bábawayh Qommy, died 381. 3. *Tahdzyb*; and 4. *Istibçár*; both by Abú Ja'far Mo*h*ammad b. al-*H*asan b. 'Alyy *T*úsy, died in 460. Some add—5. *Madynat al-'ilm*, by Ibn Bábawayh. Owing to want of time I used these books but very rarely, with the exception of the *istibçár*, of which I have an ex-

important in a theological point of view, and contain much information respecting the biography of the prophet. The records of the Shiahs, however, are infinitely less faithful than those of the Sunnies.

The first author of a biography of Mo*h*ammad was Ibn Is*h*áq, a Tábi'y, who died in A. H. 151, A. D. 768. His book was written at the request of the Khálif al-Mançúr; and the author used to lecture upon it. Ibn Is*h*áq was endowed with a faithful memory, and brilliant talents. His taste is refined, his style elegant, and his language powerful; but his book is written with a deep design; and he may be considered as the father of Mo*h*ammadan mythology.[1] In collecting traditions he was not critical;[2] and he suffered himself to be guilty of inventing new ones,[3] and forging the authorities;[4] and for this reason he was not relied upon by early authors.[5] His object is to edify and amuse his readers; and to this object he sacrifices not only truth, but in some instances even common sense.

I doubt whether the book of Ibn Is*h*áq is extant in its

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cellent copy; but, taking it for granted that the *H*ayát al-qolúb contains all the Shiah traditions on the life of Mo*h*ammad, I read it. I had also the use of some volumes of the *Bihár al-anwár*, which is a work in twenty-five or six volumes quarto, and contains all that a Shiah needs to know.

(1.) Even Mo*h*ammadan authors discerned that he attempted to shape the biography of their prophet according to the notions of the Christians. See Behlol, *Kanz al-Jawáhir*.

(2.) Abú-l-Fat*h* Mo*h*ammad b A*h*mad b. Sayyid an-Nás Ya'maryy Raba'yy, died in A. H. 734, the author of a work on the Biography of Mo*h*ammad, entitled *'Oyún al-athr*, (MS. of Royal Library of Paris, No. 771), complains that Ibn Is*h*áq does not always mention the companion of the prophet from whom he had received the tradition.

(3.) Ibn Qotaybah says, "I heard Abú *H*átim saying, on the authority of Açma'y, that Mo'tamir said, 'Take no tradition from Ibn Is*h*áq: he is a great liar.'" Ibn Khallikán, Engl. Transl. vol. II. p. 678, informs us that Málik b. Anas had an unfavorable opinion of Ibn Is*h*áq.

(4.) Ibn Qotaybah and Ibn Khallikán relate the following anecdote:—Ibn Is*h*áq quoted Fá*t*imah, the wife of Hishám b. 'Orwah, as an authority for some tradition. When her husband heard it, he exposed him by saying, Has he ever paid a visit to my wife?

(5.) Bokháry, and to the best of my knowledge Wáqidy, takes no tradition at all on the authority of Ibn Is*h*áq; and Moslim b. al-Hajjáj only one See Ibn Khallikán, *Loco Citato*, and Abúlfedá ad annum 150. But Wáqidy quotes him on genealogy.

original form. Ibn Hishám, (died in 213, A. D. 828), a pupil of Bakáyy,[1] who had attended the lectures of Ibn Is*h*áq, made a new edition of it, which is the best known and most ancient biography of Mo*h*ammad extant;[2] but unfortunately the additions of Ibn Hishám are even less critical than the text of Ibn Is*h*áq. Yet this is the only original source which has hitherto been used by European historians.

Another early biographer of Mo*h*ammad was Abú Is*h*áq, who died in 188. He is more honest, but his accounts are full of errors.[3] We have no book of his; but he is constantly quoted in the history of Abú *H*átim Ibn *H*abbán, which is still extant, and sometimes even by Wáqidy.

Madáyiny, who died in 225, compiled no less than twenty-nine books on the biography of his prophet; but it seems that his writings became scarce very early; for they are rarely quoted. Not one of his numerous works is at present known to exist. The same seems to have been the fate of the detailed labors of most other authors of that critical age;[4] and I omit mentioning those, whose works have not even indirectly contributed to our knowledge.

Towards the end of the second century Wáqidy[5] compiled several books that have reference to the biographies of Mo-

(1.) Sam'ány says of Ziyád Bakáyy (died 183), that he made awful blunders, gave free scope to his imagination, and that his accounts cannot be considered conclusive unless they are confirmed by others.

(2.) Even of this book copies are rare, (Ewald, Zeitschr. zur Kunde d. Morgl.) I used an abridgement, talkhyç, made at Damascus in 707, by A*h*mad b. Ibrahym b. 'Abd al-Ra*h*mán Wásit*y*. At first I had the beautiful autograph of the abbreviator at my disposal; but subsequently I had a copy made from it for my use.

(3.) Ibn Qotaybah says, "He was a very good and excellent man; but he is guilty of many blunders in tradition."

(4.) Major Rawlinson, C. B. Resident at Baghdád, has in his collection a MS. of the *Siyar al-anbiyá wasyrat nabyyná*, by Abú A*h*mad al-*H*asan 'Askary (died in 382), which promises to be a very valuable work.

(5.) "Abú 'Abd Allah Mo*h*ammad b. 'Omar b. Wáqid, of the Aslam tribe, resided originally at Madynah, but was, during the last four years of his life, Qádhy of 'Askar al-Mahdy, (i. e. the eastern part of Baghdád); born A. H. 130, died in 207."—Ibn Qotaybah. He left at his death six hundred boxes (qima*t*r) of books, each of which was a load for two men. The boxes made one hundred and twenty camel loads (the term is wiqr in Sam'ány, and *h*aml in Dzohaby). He was a sectarian of 'Alyy, whom he considered a miracle of Mo*h*ammad. Among other masters he heard Ibn Joray*h*.—*Fihrist* and *Ansáb Sam'ány*.

*h*ammad, of his disciples, and of the traditionists after them;[1] and they were collected into one gigantic work of fifteen large quarto volumes by his secretary,[2] who made numerous additions, and gave it the name of *Tabaqát Kabyr*; but it is generally called the *Tabaqát Wáqidy*.[3] The first volume contains the life of Mo*h*ammad, and of those of his companions who fought at Badr. This is by far the best biography of the Arabic prophet; but being rare it has never been used by an European scholar. The veracity and knowledge of the author have never been impugned by his contemporaries, nor by good early writers; and the unsupported attacks on him by modern authors reflect the greatest credit on him. Shocked by some of his disclosures, they call him a liar; and disgusted with his impartiality, the Sunnies accuse him of a Shiah bias.[4] His book contains merely traditions. They

(1.) 1. *Syrat* (biography of Mo*h*ammad); 2. *Wafát al-Nabyy* (death of Mo*h*ammad); 3. *Tárykh wa-l-Magházy wa-l-Mab'ath* (chronology, military career and prophetic mission of Mo*h*ammad); 4. *Azwáj al-Nabyy* (the wives of Mo*h*ammad); 5. *Tabaqát* (biographies chronologically arranged).

It is stated in the Fihrist of Túsy, (died in 460), that "Some good Sunny authors assert, that all the works, which bear the name of Wáqidy, were compiled by Ibráhym b. Mo*h*ammad b. Aby Ya*h*yá Abú Isháq, who was a client of the Aslam tribe, and flourished about A. H. 114; and that Wáqidy transcribed them, and claimed them as his own works. We, however, (the Shiahs), are not aware that any of Wáqidy's writings are ascribed to Ibráhym b. Mo*h*ammad."

(2.) Abú 'Abd Allah Mo*h*ammad b. Sa'd b. Many Zohryy, died at Baghdád in 230. Ibn Khallikán, III. p. 66, gives him a very high character for learning and veracity. In Baron Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikán, it is stated that he died in 203. This is a typographical error; for he died after Wáqidy. In Tydeman's Consp. and in Dzohaby, A. H. 230, A. D. 844, is given as the date of his decease.

(3.) In Ibn Qotaybah, and other old writers, the author is simply called Wáqidy, probably for the sake of brevity. In the title-page of a very correct copy of the first volume, which was executed in A. H. 718, the author is called *al*-Kátib al-Wáqidy, and not Kátib al-Wáqidy. Yet in the book itself the author constantly says, "I have been informed by Wáqidy," I found this book quoted in Persian authors under the title of *T*abaqát Hamadány. For the sake of brevity I call the author Wáqidy.

(4.) The error arises from their confounding the well-known romances, which bear the name of Wáqidy, with the traditions of that author; and again, from their considering the *Tabaqát Kabyr* as the work of Wáqidy himself. The author of the *Kanz al-Jawáhir*, who flourished in A. H. 1136, goes so far as to stigmatize the *Syrat* of Wáqidy, (meaning the first volume of the *Tabaqát Kabyr*), as a texture of falsehood. Were a refutation of this calumny required, it might be observed, that wherever the canonical collections contain traditions

are short, and carefully traced to an eye-witness through warranted authorities. Sometimes several versions are given of the same traditions; and for every version the channel is mentioned. There is no trace of a sacrifice of truth to design, or of pious fraud, in his work. It contains few miracles; and even those which are recorded in it admit of an easy explanation. This book has always been the principal source of information for critical Musalman biographers of their prophet.

The traditions, containing a description of the person, manners and character of Mo*h*ammad, collected by Tirmidzy, (died in A. H. 279, A. D. 892), are not numerous, but authentic; and have been printed in Calcutta and Lucknow.[1]

Another man, of great learning and integrity, who collected traditions on the biography of the prophet, is the great historian *T*abary, who died in A. H. 310, A. D. 929. At present, however, the portion of his annals which contains the history of the origin of the Islám is available only in the Perian translation, which cannot be fully relied upon.

Much incidental information, respecting the age of the prophet, and matters connected with the previous history, is contained in the *Kitáb al-Aghány,* or Song Book, of Abú-l-Faraj of Ispahân; but the author is too fond of the marvellous to be implicitly relied upon. His principal authorities on the prophet are Ibn Is*h*áq and *T*abary.

To this list of original sources may be added the *Kashsháf,* and other commentaries on the Qorán, which contain many authentic records not to be found in other works. The author of the *Tárykh Khamys,* (died in A. H. 966), one of the most modern biographers, has consulted them to great

on subjects treated on by Wáqidy, they are either identical, or agree in sense with his, though his authority is not quoted.

(1.) The Calcutta edition cannot always be relied upon. I possess an old MS. copy, which did me good service. The Lucknow edition is called Behár i Khold. I did not use it.

advantage. We must, however, use the commentators with great distrust. The Qorán contains many passages, which are not in harmony with the ideas of the Moslims; and Mo*h*ammad was obliged to make many confessions, which were not creditable to him. The skill of a commentator consists in perverting the sense aud misleading the reader. It is singular that, as far as I know, none of the very ancient commentaries is in existence now. They were probably too true to be preserved.[1]

Much valuable information is contained in the lives of the companions of the prophet, on which we have three very large works.[2]

On examining the Arabic historians, who flourished after the fifth century of the Hijrah, it appears that they had few, if any, original sources of information regarding the life of Mo*h*ammad, to which we have not access. It would, therefore, be superfluous to swell this list with the names of late authors.

The number of good traditions referring to the life of Mo*h*ammad, though great, is limited; and all accounts, in whatever author they may be found, rest ultimately on them. I thought it, therefore, necessary to follow the example of good Mo*h*ammadan historians, and to refer to the original traditions, stating in what collection or history they are to be found. To consider late historians, like Abúlfedá, as *authorities*, and to suppose that an account gains in certainty because it is mentioned by several of them, is highly uncritical;

(1.) The commentaries ascribed to Ibn 'Abbás and to Imám 'Asqary are later compilations of their traditions regarding the Qorán. The most ancient commentary now in vogue is the *Kashsháf* of Zamakhshary, who died in 538. The author was learned and acute, but not honest, yet more so than Baydháwy.

(2.) They are the *Isty'áb* of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, who died in 463, (see Hajy Khalfa, N. 631): the *Osod al-Ghábah* by Ibn al-Athyr Jazary, who died in 630, (see *H*ajy Khalfa, N. 637); and the *Içábah* by 'Asqalány, who died in 852, (see *H*ajy Khalfa, N. 810). I have seen these three works, but had an opportunity to use only the two last mentioned; and of the *Osod al-Ghábah* I had the use of the first half only.

and if such a mistake is committed by an orientalist, we must accuse him of most culpable ignorance in the history of Arabic literature.

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SECOND BOOK.

FIRST CHAPTER.

Birth of Mohammad; his sojourn in the desert; his nervous fit; death of his mother; goes to Syria, and meets the monk Sergius; is reduced to tending sheep; marriage with Khadyjah; rebuilding of the Ka'bah; description of Mohammad's person; his dress and habits; his character; what led him to assume his prophetic office; his mission.

Mo*h*ammad was born at Makkah on Monday, the 13th of April, A. D. 571, or the 13th of May, 569.[1] Both his parents were of the Qoraysh tribe. His father, 'Abd Allah,

(1.) Tabary *apud Hamzah*, p. 146, and Nawáwy, in his commentary on Moslim, say that all authorities agree that Mo*h*ammad was born on a Monday, in the first half of Raby' I.; but they differ on the year and on the date of the month. Most traditions say that he died at an age of 63 years. If this is correct, he was born in 571. There are, however, good traditions in Bokháry, Moslim and Tirmidzy, according to which he attained an age of 65 years, which would place his birth in 569. With reference to the date, his birth day is celebrated on the 12th of Raby' I. by the Musalmans, and for this day are almost all traditions. This was a Thursday in 571, and a Tuesday in 569; and supposing the new moon of Raby' I. was seen one day sooner than expected, it was a Monday in 569. A tradition of Abú Ma'shar is for the 2d of Raby' I., which was a Monday in 571; but Abú Ma'shar was a mathematician; and his account may possibly be a calculation, and not a tradition. There are also traditions for the first Monday and for the 10th day of the month.

was the son of 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib; and he followed, like the other members of his family, the profession of a caravan merchant. His mother, A'minah, was the daughter of Wahb, an Elder of the Zohrah family. The prophet was the only child of his parents, and his father died two months before his birth, at the early age of twenty-five years, at Madynah, on his way home from a mercantile journey to Ghazzah in Syria. The youthful widow felt her bereavment so severely, that her health gave way under her grief. Frequently, in a half-waking condition, she fancied that she was visited by ghosts, for which her friends recommended her to tie pieces of iron on her neck and arms.[1] The nervous temperament, and the unequal developement of the mental faculties of Mo*h*ammad, were apparently an inheritance from his mother.

When she had given birth to the prophet, she sent for his grandfather, and related to him that she had seen in a dream a light, proceeding from her body, which illuminated the palaces of Bostra.[2] Owing to this favorable omen 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib called the child MOHAMMAD, which means "praised;"[3] and he took him into the interior of the Ka'bah, and, standing before the idol Hobal, he thanked God and invoked his blessing upon the infant.[4]

A'minah was too weakly to suckle her own child.[5] It was for a short time nursed by Thowaybah,[6] a slave women of Abú

(1.) 'Alyy b. Yazyd b. 'Abd Allah b. Wahb b. Zam'ah heard from his father, who heard it from his aunt, that A'minah said: "There came to me a comer, and I was between sleeping and waking."

(2.) Abú *H*átim says, "in a dream." According to a tradition of Ibn al-Qob*t*yyah, and one of Abú Omámah Báhily (*apud* Wáqidy), it *appeared* to A'minah that a light was proceeding from her: raat kainnaho kharaja minhá núr *n*.

(3.) "Among the Arabs a name is given to the infant immediately on his birth. The name is derived from some trifling accident, or from some object which had struck the fancy of the mother, or any of the women present at the child's birth."
—Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins*, I. p. 97.

(4.) A tradition of Ibn Zam'ah, from his father, from his aunt, *apud* Wáqidy. The circumstance is also mentioned by Abú *H*átim.

(5.) According to some accounts, she suckled him one week; according to others, not at all.

(6.) The name of her own child was Masrú*h*. She had suckled, before Mo-

Lahab; but not long after its birth ten women of the tribe of Sa'd, who pastured their flocks in the neighborhood of *T*áyif, came to Makkah to find children to nurse. *H*alymah,[1] one of them, after some hesitation, took charge of the orphan prophet. It was the habit of the richer inhabitants of Makkah, to send their children, in charge of Bedouin wet-nurses, into the desert, that they might avoid the pestilential climate of the city,[2] accustom themselves from their infancy to hardships, and imbibe the genuine Arabic character and language, which were at home only in the desert.[3]

Mo*h*ammad remained five years, under the care of *H*alymah, in the country of the Banú Sa'd. When he was four years old he had a nervous fit, whilst playing, at a short distance from the encampment of the tribe, with the children of the nurse. His foster brother immediately called *H*alymah. When she, with her husband, arrived at the spot, they found him on his legs, but looking very pale. They thought he suffered from epilepsy;[4] and, as this disease was ascribed, in ancient times, to supernatural influence,[5] they believed that

*h*ammad, *H*amzah, the son of Hálah, a daughter of Wohayb and neice of Áminah, who had been married to 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib at the same time when Áminah was married to his son 'Abd Allah. Both marriages took place in the house of Wohayb. Thowaybah suckled, with or after Mo*h*ammad, with the same milk, Abú Salmah, a Makhzúmite. These were, consequently, foster-brothers of Mo*h*ammad. When Mo*h*ammad had married Khadyjah, she wished to purchase Thowaybah from Abú Lahab, with the view of giving her her freedom. He refused to sell her; but after the flight of Mo*h*ammad he set her free. After Mo*h*ammad had come to power, he sent presents to Thowaybah; but she and her son were dead, and had left no issue.

(1.) After Mo*h*ammad had married Khadyjah, there was a drought in the country of the Sa'dites; and *H*alymah came to Mohammad complaining that all her cattle had died. Mo*h*ammad spoke to Khadyjah, and she gave her forty sheep, and a camel, accustomed to carry a haudah. She was also received with veneration by Abú Bakr and 'Omar.

(2.) Wáqidy and Ibn Is*h*áq.

(3.) The words are from the ***Rawdhat al**ahbáb*, and they are confirmed by a tradition of Zakariyá b. Ya*h*yá b. Yazyd Sa'dy, (*apud* Wáqidy), according to which Mo*h*ammad said, "I speak best Arabic; for I am a Qorayshite, and speak the dialect of the Banú Sa'd."

(4.) The husband of *H*alymah said to her, "I am afraid this boy had an epileptic fit (qad oçyba); take him to his family before it is known."—Ibn Is*h*áq, p. 33. See also Weil, p. 26.

(5.) Even the civilized Romans called this disease morbus divinus, or morbus sacer.

he was possessed by an evil spirit,[1] and therefore she took the child to a soothsayer (káhin),[2] and then to his mother. Áminah related to her the vision which she had shortly before his birth; and assuring her that the evil spirits had no power over her child she prevailed on her to take him back into the desert. A year after *H*alymah brought him again to Makkah, and could not be prevailed upon to take any longer charge of him, though his mother was most anxious that she should.[3] He had probably had another paroxysm.[4] Mo*h*ammad has made a miracle of his illness, of which he

(1.) After some evasive answers of *H*alymah, the mother of the prophet said, "Are you afraid that he is in the power of the devil (shay*t*án)?" And *H*alymah answered, "Yes."—Ibn Is*h*áq.

(2.) *Rawdhat ala*h*báb*, and *Tárykh Khamys*. According to the latter authority, people said to *H*alymah: Açábaho lamamon aw *t*áyifon min aljinn—"He suffers of a disease resting on supernatural influence, or of an incubus from among the jinn."

(3.) The account is from a tradition of Zakariyá b. Yahyá b. Yazyd, of the Sa'd tribe, who had it from his father, (Wáqidy, fol. 20 v.); and from a tradition of 'Abd Allah b. Ja'far in Ibn Is*h*áq; and from the account of Abú *H*átim. These three accounts agree almost literally in the marvellous, but they differ in the facts. According to the tradition in Wáqidy, after Mo*h*ammad had been two years with *H*alymah she took him to Makkah, on a visit to his mother, but returned with him into the desert. After two years more he had a fit, which frightened *H*alymah and her husband, and they went again to Makkah with him. They were, however, prevailed upon by Áminah to take him back into the desert, where he remained one year longer. When he was five years old *H*alymah brought him back to Makkah, and would not keep him any longer; for she had observed that wherever he went he was shaded by a cloud, which frightened her. Mo*h*ammad now remained with his mother. According to Ibn Is*h*áq, *H*alymah brought him on a visit to Makkah when he was two years old; and he had the fit *some months* after his return into the desert. She took him to Makkah after the fit; but it is not stated whether she took him back into the desert. The account of the interview between *H*alymah and Áminah ends with the words of the latter—"Leave him and go your way"—from which we might conclude that he did not return to the Sa'dites. There are two reasons for supposing that Mo*h*ammad remained at least five years with the Sa'd tribe: first, he spoke their dialect; and secondly, both Ibn Is*h*áq and Wáqidy relate that he was lost on his way to Makkah, in or near the city; and that he was found by Waraqah. A child of two years and a few months is not likely to run away.

The reason why all authors agree in the marvellous part of this story is, because it rests on Mo*h*ammad's own statement.

(4.) The following fits of Mo*h*ammad are recorded:—"According to the *Mowáhib alladonnyyah* his chest was split (i. e. he had a fit) again in the cave of mount *H*ará, when Gabriel brought him the revelation; also during his transfiguration; and also when he was ten years of age; or, according to one tradition, when he was in his fifth year before he had grown into a young man."—*Tárykh Khamys.*

is his own witness; for though his foster brother, who was then four years of age, is said to have related to his mother, that two angels had opened his chest, and washed his intesnes in snow, no argument but the sword could prevail upon the Sa'dites to believe in his prophetic mission.

Áminah did not long survive the return of her child. When Mo*h*ammad had attained six years of age, she went with him to Madynah, on a visit to the family of her husband's grandmother;[1] and remained there one month. On her way home she died at Abwá,[2] and was buried there. Barakah, her slave woman, took charge of the infant prophet, and brought him to Makkah. The next two years Mo*h*ammad lived under the roof of 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib, who cherished him with the usual fondness of a grandfather. The patriarch died, at the age of eighty-two years, when the prophet was eight years old, and was buried in the cemetery of al-*H*ajún. On his death-bed he recommended the orphan to his son, the noble-minded Abú *T*álib, who brought him up to the caravan commerce, and took him, as soon as he had attained twelve years of age, to Syria,[3] on a commercial journey. Near Bostra they became acquainted with a monk of Arabic origin, of the name of Ba*h*yrá, or Sergius.[4] Abú Tálib found it necessary, for some unexplained reason, to send his nephew back.[5] Ba*h*yrá took charge of him, and went with him to Makkah.[6] The traditionists, and original biographers of Mo-

(1.) Her family was called banú Sa'd. She lived in the house of Nábighah, in which her husband had died, and where he was buried in the court-yard, at the left hand side from the entrance.

(2.) Al-Abwá is situated half way from Makkah to Madynah, being 126 miles from the former, and 125 from the latter city. In the neighborhood is Waddán. Idrysy, p. 52, and Ibn Khordádbah.

(3.) Mo*h*ammad, it is said, in his sixteenth year accompanied his uncle Zobayr on a mercantile journey to Yaman. I have no good authority for this statement.

(4.) He was of the 'Abd al-Qays tribe.—Mas'údy, English transl. I. 150.

(5.) A tradition of 'Alyy in Tirmidzy, (*Taysyr*, p. 458); one of Abú Músá Ash'ary, (*ibid.* and *Mishkát*, II. p. 716); and one of Abú Moljáz (Wáqidy).

(6.) The Secretary of Wáqidy says:—" I have been informed by Mo*h*ammad

*h*ammad, who usually cover events, which might be injurious to their prophet, with miracles, all maintain, with the exception of Wáqidy, that Mo*h*ammad was sent back from Bostra to Makkah in charge of Abú Bakr, who was then only ten years of age, and of Bilál, who was not yet born.[1] Early Christian biographers assert that Mo*h*ammad received his revelations from Sergius; and he himself pleads guilty of having been accused by the Makkians of being instructed by a foreigner.[2] The mystery in which his followers envelop his acquaintance with Sergius certainly gives color to the assertion of his adversaries.

The great object of a young Bedouin, says Burckhardt,[3] is to make himself independent of his father, and to possess a tent of his own;[4] and we may suppose that the same feeling prevailed among the young men at Makkah. The Arabs, like all southern nations, marry early. A tent and a mare, or camel, is a sufficient outfit; activity procures the rest. "Seek not to purchase my mare; she is not to be bought or borrowed. I am a strong castle on her back; and in her bound are glory and greatness."[5] Mo*h*ammad had a great predilection for the fair sex, and his living to the twenty-fifth year

b. 'Omar (i. e. Wáqidy), that he was informed by Mo*h*ammad b. Çali*h* b. 'Abd Allah b. Ja'far, and by Ibráhym b. Isma'yl b. Aby *H*alyf, who [both] had it from Dáwúd b. al-Hoçayn: when the prophet of God was twelve years of age, Abú *T*álib took him to Syria in company with the caravan, with which he proceeded thither for the sake of commerce. They were staying with the monk Ba*h*yrá, who told Abú *T*álib respecting the prophet what he told him, and recommended him to take care of him. Abú *T*álib sent him, consequently, with him (i. e. Ba*h*yrá) back to Makkah. The prophet grew into a young man in the house of Abú *T*álib, and God protected him, and guarded him against the abominations of paganism; for he intended to manifest his miracles on him. But he followed the religion of his countrymen."

(1.) This anachronism is committed in a tradition of 'Alyy in Tirmidzy, [Taysyr, p. 458]; and one of Abú Músá in Razyn, [*ibid.* and *Mishkát*, II. p. 716], and in Abú *H*átim, who follows Abú Is*h*áq. Abú Bakr was two years younger than Mo*h*ammad. Bilál died in A. H. 20, at the age of sixty years; and was, consequently, thirteen years younger than Mo*h*ammad.

(2.) *Qorán*, 16, 105; 25, 6; and 44, 13.

(3.) *Notes on the Bedouins*, I. p. 355.

(4.) *Ibidem*, I. 114.

(5.) *Antar, a Bedoueen Romance.* translated by T. Hamilton, I. p. 22.

of his age unmarried, and on the charity of his uncle, is to be ascribed to his want of activity. He had the same patrimony which had enabled his father to begin life, consisting of a house which was worth twenty dinars,[1] or about nine pounds sterling, five camels, a flock of sheep, and a female slave, whom his father had kept for the comfort of his wife. He would not have granted to her this indulgence, had he not considered himself in prosperous circumstances. Besides, Mo*h*ammad had good connexions, and his uncles appear to have been anxious to bring him forward; yet when he was asked whether he should not like to marry, he answered, "Undoubtedly; but whence shall I get the means?"[2] Owing to his unfitness for the common duties of life he was reduced to the necessity of pasturing sheep, which is considered the most humiliating occupation for a man amongst the Arabs.[3] But with his usual skill he turned his humiliation into a sign of his prophetic office, and told his followers that, God sent no man as a prophet who had not tended the sheep; and that David, Moses, and other prophets had followed this occupation.[4]

When Mo*h*ammad was twenty-five years old, his uncle Abú *T*álib said to him, "I am a poor man, and in narrow

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(1.) It was sold for this sum by 'Aqyl, a son of Abú *T*álib and a cousin of Mo*h*ammad, to a Qorayshite.—*T*abary.

(2.) A tradition of Nafysah, daughter of Monyah, *apud* Wáqidy.

(3.) Among the Arabs of Sinai, and those of the Egyptian Sherkieh, it is an established rule, that neither men nor boys should ever drive the cattle to pasture; this is the exclusive duty of the unmarried girls of the camp, who perform it by turns. Among other Bedouins, slaves or servants take the flocks to pasture. Among the Sinai Arabs a boy would feel himself insulted were any one to say, "Go, and drive your father's sheep to pasture."—Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins*, I. 351, 352. Antar says, (transl. of Hamilton, II. p. 121), by way of humiliating himself, "I am indeed your slave, and the shepherd of your flock."

(4.) A tradition of Abú Horayrah, one of Abú Salmah b. 'Abd al-Ra*h*mán, one of Sábir b. 'Abd Allah, and one of 'Obayd b. 'Omayr *apud* Wáqidy, who considers the subject so important that he devotes a separate chapter to it. See also Ibn Is*h*áq, and the *Mishkát*, II. p. 320 and 51. According to the last passage his wages were a few qyráts (per head?) In Syria 24 qyráts, and in most other countries 20, make a dynar. A qyrát is, therefore, equal to about five pence.

circumstances. A caravan of this city will shortly start for Syria. Khadyjah requires a man of our tribe to send in charge of her merchandize; thou hadst better offer thy services." The prophet agreed, and his uncle spoke with Khadyjah; "but," he said, "I hear thou intendest to give only two young camels: we could not take less than four for the services of Mo*h*ammad." "To a stranger," answered the lady, "I would not give more; but, as he is a friend and relation of ours, I accede to thy demand." The messenger of God, having been well recommended by his relations to his fellow travellers, made his second journey to Syria.

Khadyjah, who is considered the pattern of a Musalman matron, was a widow of the Asad family. She was forty (lunar) years of age, and had been twice married.[1] Being a woman of superior mind, the mild and pensive character of Mo*h*ammad could not fail to make an impression upon her; and on his return from Syria she offered him her hand.[2] He and his family were delighted, at the prospect that he would be provided for; but the father of the lady refused his consent; and, as the miracles which were wrought by Providence, with a view of inflaming the heart of Khadyjah, made no impression upon the hardened old man, the supernatural powers of wine were required to obtain it. His devoted daughter filled him the goblet more than usual; and in his intoxication he united the two lovers. The next morning he repented, and he and his family took up arms against the Háshimites; but the happiness of his daughter pacified him before it came

(1.) Khadyjah was first married to Abú Halah b. Zorárah Tamymyy, and had by him two sons, Hálah and Hind. Then she married 'Alyy b. Khalyd, a Makhzúmite, and had by him a daughter called Hind.

(2.) According to some authorities Maysarah, a slave of Khadyjah, who had accompanied Mo*h*ammad on his journey to Syria, was the messenger of love between his mistress and Mo*h*ammad. But according to one tradition in Wáqidy, Khadyjah offered him her hand through Nafysah; and, according to another tradition, through her own sister.

to violence.[1] Khadyjah was an affectionate wife; and Mohammad treated her with the deference due to a mother;[2] and their union was blessed by several children, notwithstanding her advanced age.[3] Mohammad was never entrusted with the administration of his wife's property; whatever he wanted he had to ask her for. His dependance upon her, and the mature age and clear intellect of Khadyjah, gave her a great moral influence over him. He was very steady;[4] and as long as she was alive he contracted no other marriage.

When Mohammad was thirty-five years of age, the torrent, which descends from the Jorf and flows through Makkah, threatened to destroy the Ka'bah. The Qorayshites were afraid that the two golden gazelles, which were inlaid with precious stones, and other property belonging to that

(1.) This account rests on a tradition of Abú Mijlaz, and on other traditions in Wáqidy, the authorities of which are not mentioned. It is natural that the Mohammadans should be scandalized at this runaway match of their prophet. They, therefore, have invented a tradition, which they ascribe to Ibn 'Abbás, according to which the father of Khadyjah was dead, and she was married by her uncle 'Amr. Later authors describe minutely the wedding, and marriage festivities, to give more credit to the story.

(2.) *Mishkát*, II. 790.

(3.) When Khadyjah married Mohammad she was near thirty-nine solar years of age. She had six children by him, one every year, and therefore she gave birth to the last when she was forty-five years old. The first child was al-Qásim; and after him Mohammad is called Abú-l-Qásim i. e. father of Qásim. He died in infancy. 2. Zaynab, a daughter, who wa smarried to Abú-l-'Aç, and died during her father's life-time. 3. Roqayyah, a daughter, first married to 'Otbah a son of Abú Lahab; then to 'Othmán, the third Khalif. 4. Fátimah, married to 'Alyy, by whom she became the mother of al-Hassán and al-Hosayn, and through them of the millions of Sharyfs and Sayyids. 5. Omm Kolthúm, a daughter, who was first married to 'Otaybah a son of Abú Lahab, and subsequently to 'Othmán. 6. A son, whose name was 'Abd Manáf, i. e. the slave of the idol Manáf. He died in infancy. The Musalmans were early scandalized, that the son of their prophet should have this name; and therefore they called him 'Abd Allah (slave of God), or Tayyib, or Motayyab, or Táhir, or Motahhar—(these four names mean pure, undefiled)—and in order to remove every suspicion that he had had his name from an idol, they say that he was born after Mohammad had assumed his prophetic office. Khadyjah had passed the fifty-third solar year of her age when Mohammad first proclaimed himself a prophet.—(Weil, p. 39; Wáqidy, fol. 25 and 179, and *Taysyr*, p. 456.)

(4.) Several traditions say that he was not in the habit of visiting the bazars, nor was he boisterous, nor was he given to talking scandal, or making use of obscene express ons.

shrine, might be stolen; and therefore wished to rebuild it. It happened that at the same time a Greek vessel was wrecked off the coast of Joddah. The Qorayshites not only obtained the wood of the wreck, but they prevailed upon Baqúm, the captain of the unfortunate vessel, who was an architect, to superintend the reconstruction of their temple. When the black stone was to be put into its place, a dispute arose as to who should have the honor of locating it. They agreed to leave the decision to fate: the first man who might enter by the Shaybah gate was to be chosen. This man happened to be Mo*h*ammad. He placed the stone on his mantle, and requested four shaykhs, who represented the families that took part in the construction, to raise it; and when it came to a level with the place where it was to be put, he pushed it into it with his hands.

Mo*h*ammad was never a man of importance[1] previous to his mission; yet his marriage had made him free from cares, and he could follow the natural bent of his mind, which was to ascetic exercises and religious speculations. Khadyjah had probably set him the example.

Before speaking of the mission of the prophet, it is necessary to introduce him to our readers, and to acquaint them with his character. Mo*h*ammad was of middling size, had broad shoulders, a wide chest, and large bones; and he was fleshy, but not stout. The immoderate size of his head was partly disguised by the long locks of hair, which in slight curls came nearly down to the lobe of his ears.[2] His oval face, though tawny, was rather fair for an Arab, but neither pale nor high colored. The forehead was broad, and his fine and long but narrow eyebrows were separated by a vein, which

(1.) *Qorán*, 43, 30.
(2.) This description of the person, dress and habits of Mo*h*ammad contains almost every thing that is in the Shamáyil of Tirmidzy. Most of the traditions of that book are also in Wáqidy, and many of them in Bokháry, Moslim, and the other books of the Sittah.

you could see throbbing if he was angry. Under long eyelashes sparkled bloodshot black eyes through wide slit eyelids. His nose was large, prominent and slightly hooked, and the tip of it seemed to be turned up, but was not so in reality. The mouth was wide; he had a good set of teeth, and the fore teeth were asunder. His beard rose from the cheekbones, and came down to the collar-bone; he clipped his mustachios, but did not shave them. He stooped, and was slightly hump-backed.[1] His gait was careless, and he walked fast but heavily, as if he were ascending a hill;[2] and if he looked back, he turned round his whole body. The mildness of his countenance gained him the confidence of every one; but he could not look straight into a man's face: he turned his eyes usually outwards. On his back he had a round fleshy tumor of the size of a pigeon's egg; its furrowed surface was covered with hair, and its base was surrounded by black moles.[3] This was considered as the seal of his prophetic mission, at least during the latter part of his career, by his followers, who were so devout that they found a cure for their ailings in drinking the water in which he had bathed; and it must have been very refreshing; for he perspired profusely, and his skin exhaled a strong smell.

He bestowed considerable care on his person, and more particularly on his teeth, which he rubbed so frequently with a piece of wood, that a Shiah anthor was induced to consider it as one of the signs of his prophetic mission. He bathed frequently, washed several times a day, and oiled his head profusely after washing it. At times he dyed his hair and

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(1.) Fyhi janáon. This particular is in Wáqidy, but not in Tirmidzy.

(2.) Ten traditions say, "as if he were going down-hill;" which gives us the same, but a less clear, idea of a heavy walk. In two traditions it is "as if he were going up-hill."

(3.) A woman, who had seen it, compared it with the buttons on the curtain of a bridal bed. No surgeon could describe this tumor clearer than it is described in the traditions of Tirmidzy.

beard red, with henna, in imitation of his grandfather, who imported this habit from Yaman. Though he did not comb himself regularly, he did it now and then. At first he wore his hair like the Jews and Christians; for he said, In all instances, in which God has not given me an order to the contrary, I like to follow their example;—but subsequently he divided it, like most of his countrymen. Every evening he applied antimony to his eyes; and though he had not many grey hairs even when he died, he concealed them by dyeing or oiling them,[1] in order to please his wives, many of whom were young and inclined to be giddy; and whose numbers he increased in proportion as he became more decrepid.

The prophet was usually dressed in a white cotton shirt, or blouse, (qamyç), with pockets, and sleeves which reached to his wrists. He had a skull-cap and a turban on his head, the extremities hanging down the back; and sandals, with two leather straps over the instep, on his feet. In the house he wore merely a piece of cloth ('içábah) tied round his temples, leaving the crown of the head uncovered. Sometimes he wore, instead of the shirt, a "suit of clothes" (*h*ollah),[2] which consisted of an apron (izár), that is to say, a piece of cloth tied round the waist and hanging in folds down to the legs, like a woman's petticoat; and a sheet (ridá),[3]

(1.) "Propheta pilos pudendorum depilatorio illiniens penem manu prehensum avertit."—Tradition of *H*abyb in Wáqidy, confirmed by several others.

(2.) *H*ollah has, besides this, a more extensive meaning, and implies any two garments, though they cover the same part of the body; as with us a jacket and waistcoat. Mo*h*ammad went to high prices for his dress. We are informed, "The prophet bought a *h*ollah, or perhaps a thawb (cloth), for twenty-nine she-camels (náqah)."—A tradition of Mo*h*ammad b. Shyryn *apud* Wáqidy. "The prophet bought a *h*ollah for twenty-seven ounces (úqayyah)."—*Ibidem.* According to the law property-tax is to be paid from five ounces, or two hundred dirhams; and it is therefore believed that one ounce was equal in value to forty dirhams, or about seventeen shillings.—[See *Tahqyq al-Awzán*, p. 4.] "The bordah and ridá of the prophet cost eight dynars."—Tradition of Isma'yl *apud* Wáqidy. A dynar is equal to about nine shillings. These high prices lead us to suppose that his garments were of fine texture.

(3.) In Europe the word ridá is translated by cloak, and in India by chádar,

or square shawl, which was thrown over the left shoulder and wrapped round the body under the right arm. Sometimes he wrapped himself in a blanket (mir*t*).

Though he usually took refreshments three times a day, he made only one substantial meal, which consisted chiefly of bread, or chapatties; that is to say, unleavened dough shaped into thin cakes, and baked upon a plate of iron. He ate the bread with dates, or honey, or oil, or vinegar. He was generally so poor that he had rarely two days in succession barley bread enough to eat; and as to bread baked of wheat, it was considered such a dainty, that a man, to whom it is said God promised any favor he might wish for, asked to have white bread to eat every day of his life. A dish, which the prophet ate very frequently, was cooked in the following manner:— Flour was put into a pan; then it was mixed with oil, a little pepper, and some other spice; and it was cooked. Sometimes he had fowls or mutton made into a kind of Polish stew. He was particularly fond of the shoulder and knuckle. Bread soaked in gravy with meath was so favorite a dish with the prophet, that he compared his beloved 'Áyishah with it. Another favorite dish was dates, honey and milk mixed; or bread, butter and dates blended together into a paste. He was fond of sweets, and liked to drink milk, honey, or water sweetened with dates.

Instead of a table he dined on a round piece of leather. It was spread on the ground, and he and his guests sat around it. He carved for his guests; that is to say, he cut off for every person a large piece of meat; but it was not cut into small pieces. They tore it with their hands and

which means a sheet. The latter meaning seems to be correct, in reference to the time of Mo*h*ammad. In a tradition of Wáqidy we read, "Idzá ta'a*tt*afa biridáihi lam yo*hit* bihi fahowa motaabbi*t*oho ta*h*ta ib*t*ihi." "If he dressed in a sheet, he carried it round his body under the armpit, and did not wrap himself up in it." This is the manner in which the chádar is most frequently worn in India. Mo*h*ammad's ridá was four cubits long and two cubits and a span wide.

teeth, and gnawed the bones without the assistance of a knife. After dinner he licked his fingers, and sometimes also the dish. We have an account of two entertainments, in which Mo*h*ammad was present. On one occasion he accepted the invitation of a tailor to dinner. He was treated with soup, with cucumbers boiled in it, and salted meat, which, cut into small pieces, had been dried in the sun. On the occasion of his marriage with Çaffyyah he gave to his guests dates and parched barley, which had been ground and mixed with some kind of sweetmeat. And at another marriage he killed a sheep, and treated his guests with bread and mutton.

Before and after dinner he used to say grace, "Praise be to God, who has given us to eat and to drink, and who has made us musalmans." He also used to bless the first fruits that came in every season, and then to give them to children.

His bed consisted first of a mat, or a double sheet of sackcloth; but when he had come to power he slept on a leather mattress stuffed with the husk of the date tree. His other household furniture was equally simple. The water was kept in a bag of untanned skin without hair, which was hung up on the wall; and he drank out of the water-bag, or of a wooden goblet. Several bags (ohab) of skin were hung up in his room, for keeping butter, milk, oil, and the like; and if they were not in use they were blown up. When he was sitting down (on the ground) his back or left elbow were usually supported by a leather pillow; but he disaproved of indulging in such a comfort at dinner. In his campaigns he took with him an ivory comb, collyry, teeth-cleaners, consisting of pieces of the fibrous wood of a certain tree, a looking-glass, and oil for anointing his hair. These articles, put into a bag, formed his dressing-case. The only pleasures in which he indulged were women and perfumes; among the latter he was particularly fond of musk, which was mixed

with other substances and made into cakes by his wives. He abhorred the use of strong stimulants, and forbad it to his followers.

The temperament of Mo*h*ammad was melancholic, and in the highest degree nervous. He was generally low spirited, thinking and restless; and he spoke little, and never without necessity. His eyes were mostly cast to the ground, and he seldom raised them towards heaven.[1] The excitement under which he composed the more poetical Súrahs of the Qorân was so great, that he said that they had caused him gray hair;[2] his lips were quivering and his hands shaking whilst he received the inspiration.[3] An offensive smell made him so uncomfortable that he forbad persons who had eaten garlic or onions to come into his place of worship. In a man of semi-barbarous habits this is remarkable. He had a woollen garment, and was obliged to throw it away when it began to smell from perspiration, "on account of his delicate constitution."[4] When he was taken ill, he sobbed like a woman in hysterics; or, as 'Áyishah says, he roared like a camel; and his friends reproached him for his unmanly bearing.[5] And during the battle of Badr his nervous excitement seems to have bordered on frenzy. The faculties of his mind were extremely unequally developed; he was unfit for the common duties of life, and even after his mission he was lead in all practical questions by his friends. But he had a vivid imagination, the greatest elevation of mind, refined sentiments, and a taste for the sublime. Much

(1.) Tradition of Hind b. Aby Hálah, a step-son of Mo*h*ammad, *apud* Tirmidzy, pp. 20 and 234, and Wáqidy.
(2.) He said that the Súrahs, which he composed under the greatest excitement, were the 11th, 56th, 77th and 78th. They are indeed as wild as dithyrambs.—Tradition of Ibn 'Abbás and Abú Jo*h*ayfah, *apud* Tirmidzy, p. 56, and Wáqidy.
(3.) Two traditions of Ibn 'Abbás *apud* Wáqidy. See also *H*osayny's Comm. on the Qorán, 72, 6.
(4.) *Mishkát*, II. p. 350.
(5.) Two traditions in Wáqidy.

as he disliked the name, he was a poet;[1] and a harmonious language and sublime lyric constitute the principal merits of the Qorân. His mind dwelt constantly on the contemplation of God; he saw his finger in the rising sun, in the falling rain, in the growing crop; he heard his voice in the thunder, in the murmuring of the waters, and in the hymns which the birds sing to his praise; and in the lonely deserts and ruins of ancient cities he saw the traces of his anger. His imagination peopled these fastnesses with jinn, who were created like ourselves to praise God. His notions of the Divinity, however, are far from being as pure as they are generally believed to be. The God of Mo*h*ammad is not the result of abstraction; he merely possesses those epithets, which man covets, in a superlative degree. His ascribing to him ninety-nine attributes would by itself be sufficient to convince us how concrete his ideas were respecting his divine nature.

The prophet was not free from superstition; he believed in jinn, omens and charms, and he had many superstitious habits. The jinn were, according to his opinion, of three kinds: some have wings and fly; others are snakes and dogs; and those of the third kind move about from place to place like men.[2] Again, some of them believed in him, and others did not. He gave instructions to his followers, if a fly falls into a dish of victuals, to plunge it in completely, then to take it out and to throw it away; for in one of its wings is a cause of sickness, and in the other a cause of health; and in falling it falls on the sick wing; and if it is submerged the other wing will counteract its bad effect.[3] To make a bad dream

(1.) He was particularly fond of the verses of Omayyah b. Aby al-Çalt, (see page 38 *supra*), and of Labyd. Of the latter he frequently repeated the verse—Alá kollo shayi*n* má khalá-llaha bá*t*ilo*n*—"is not every thing vain without God?" The Qorayshites saw that he was a poet, and for this reason he protested against this name, (*Qorán*, 36. 68.) Yet in a few instances he forgot himself, and made verses.—Tirmidzy, *Sham.* p. 258.

(2.) *Mishkát*, II. pp. 311—314, and *Qorán* 72.

(3.) *Ibidem*, p. 310.

harmless he thought it necessary to spit three times over the left shoulder. He was very careful to begin every thing from the right side, and to end with the left; and he smeared the antimony first in the right eye. His ideas of omens, however, were more sensible: he admitted lucky omens, but forbad to believe in unlucky ones.

The energy and enthusiasm of Mo*h*ammad claim our highest admiration. The following pages contain instances of his extraordinary firmness and perseverance. His followers, however, admit that in his trials he was greatly supported by the endurance of his wife Khadyjah.[1] His dark and bloody fanaticism fills us with horror, and his cunning weakens our faith in his honesty of purpose. When he was on the grave of his mother, he publicly declared that her soul was condemned for having worshipped idols; and his judgement on his uncle and protector, the noble-minded Abú *T*álib, was equally severe. His actions were, in some instances, as cruel as his poetry: some apostates from his faith were sentenced by him to have their hands and feet cut off, and their eyes pierced with hot irons. In this condition they were thrown on the stony plains of Madynah. They asked for water, and it was refused to them; and so they died. Such instances of cruelty are the more characteristic of his fanaticism, as he was naturally mild, and even soft.

(1.) "Khadyjah was the support of the prophet in his duties, and she was the first who believed in him. God ordained it thus to make his office easy to him: as often as he had to hear unpleasant language, or was accused of falsehood, or was downcast. she cheered him up; and when he came home she inspired him with courage and said, Thou speakest the truth; and she consoled him."—Ibn Is*h*áq. "Whenever the prophet mentioned Khadyjah (after her death) he used to speak highly of her, and one day he was crying. *'A*yishah said to him, What makes thee cry for an old woman with red corners of the mouth (*h*amráo-lshidq: this is probably an idiom meaning meddling and talkative.) Has God not given thee better wives than that old Asadite woman? No, God has not given me better women. She (Khadyjah) used to say: Thou speakest the truth, when the public accused me of falsehood. She consoled and supported me with money when I was treated like an outcast; and God has given me children by her and none by any other wife."—A*h*mad (i. e. Ibn *H*anbal,) *Mosnad apud* Shahráshúb, *Manáqib ál Aby Tálib*, Vol. VIII.

Mohammad rose with the sun; and after his private devotions he attended at the public morning prayers, which were generally followed by a breakfast of milk and dates. This duty over, he attended to his domestic avocations, milked the goats, cleaned his clothes from vermin, and attended to his person.[1] At noon, before or after prayer, he took another meal and his siesta, in the apartments of one of his wives, usually merely resting his head on his arm. No one was allowed to ask for admission during the time. He retired early in the evening, and spent part of his restless nights in prayers. Extravagance was, in his eyes, the mother of vices;[2] and he studiously gave to his followers an example of patriarchal simplicity of manners, which is much vaunted by the moralists, who lived in the times of the luxurious Khalifs. Costly presents of dresses and utensils, which he received towards the end of his career, he gave to his friends. On one occasion he received a silken garment: he cut it into two pieces, and gave one to 'Alyy; for he thought his wife would look well if she were to wear it round her head. On another occasion a Syrian frock was given to him: he wore it once at prayers, and no more; for he said he was admiring it the whole time, and could not attend to his devotions. For some time he had a golden ring; but observing in the mosque that his followers imitated his example, he rebuked them, and never wore it again. He liked, however, precious arms; and we are informed that he indulged in the luxury of wearing boots. He had two pairs, one of which he had received from the king of Abyssinia. His wives would have liked to live more in style, and several times they rose in open rebellion against the man of God; but a revelation from heaven, to rebuke them for their ingratitude, and the blows of their

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(1.) A tradition of 'Áyishah *apud* Tirmidzy, p. 376.
(2.) *Qorán*, 17, 27, and *passim*.

relations,[1] soon brought them to submission. He was affectionate towards his relations; and, notwithstanding the gravity of his office, he was playful with his wives. 'A'yishah, being only nine years of age when she married him, brought her toys into his house; and he occasionally played with her. She also used to race with him. Of an evening he would sometimes tell stories to his wives; such as the adventures of a man who had been carried away by the jinn, and after a long stay with them returned to his family; or, of the eleven ladies, who agreed to describe to each other the characters of their husbands, and to reveal the secrets of their matrimonial alliances.

He was kind to women; never beat one; and entertained more respect for them than is usual with nations addicted to polygamy. He frequently protected women who came to him for refuge; and the ladies of Madynah exercised some influence on his legislation, as we learn from the following instance. He forbad the believers to beat their wives; but on the remonstrance of 'Omar, who said that the wives would have the upper hand over their husbands, he allowed it. Upon this a great number of ladies came to his house, and prevailed upon him to disapprove of their being ill-treated.

Towards his followers he was affable and patronizing; when he met his friends he shook hands with them; and he did not allow them to rise from their seats when he came near them. Being importuned with questions, he found it necessary to keep the believers at a distance, and to forbid troubling him with queries, by a Qorân verse.[2] When in company, as long as the conversation turned on worldly subjects,

(1.) A scene of this description is mentioned in the *Mishkát*, II. p. 112. There are also two domestic scenes alluded to in the Qorán; one arose from his penchant for a slave woman (Súrah 23); and another out of his jealousy. He reproves his wives for their ostentation; orders them to remain at home, and not to be too complaisant in speech; and he threatens them a double punishment if they should forget themselves.

(2.) *Qorán*, 5, 101; 23, 50. More stringent injunctions are in the traditions.

he was cheerful, and sometimes even jocose. He liked to hear the tales of olden times, and the national poetry. But, if speaking on religion, he was grave and serious; he spoke slowly, pronounced the long vowels with great emphasis, made frequent pauses, and repeated almost every sentence three times; and he understood, as well as men of importance in our days, to answer in general terms. He had some common-places, which were made to suit every occasion, where he was afraid of compromising himself. Yet it would appear that he was naturally hasty, and that his slowness and caution were the result of his position.[1] We see that the prophet of the Arabs was, as he frequently admitted, a man like ourselves, sharing the amiable foibles and selfish virtues of our species.

Up to his fortieth year Mo*h*ammad devoutly worshipped the gods of his fathers.[2] The predominance of his imaginative powers, and his peculiar position, gave him a turn for religious meditation. He annually spent the month of Ramadhán in seclusion in a cave of mount *H*ará,[3] where the Qorayshites used to devote themselves to ascetic exercises.[4] In this retreat he passed a certain number of nights in prayers,[5]

(1.) Compare *Qorán*, 75, 17.

(2.) *Qorán*, 93, 9; and a tradition of Sodyy *apud* Wáqidy to that verse. See also p. 80, note.

(3.) A tradition of 'Obayd Allah b. 'Omayr Laythy *apud* Ibn Is*h*áq.

(4.) Mount *H*ará is three miles from Makkah, on the left hand side from the road to Miná. The cave is, according to the *Ma'árij alnab.* four yards long, and its width varies from one to three yards.

(5.) The term is, he performed the ta*h*annoth. This term means, according to a tradition of 'Áyishah. see *Taysyr*, p. 461, "worshipping God a certain number of nights," or a kind of Novenna, which seems to have been in use among the Qorayshites. Ibn Is*h*áq explains it by tabarror, or piety. According to Jawhary ta*h*annoth has etymologically the same meaning as taaththom, i. e. to do penuance; but in the tradition alluded to he and other lexicographers are of opinion that it means to pray and give up idolatry. Their authority can be of but little weight in comparison with a tradition reported by Bokháry and Moslim. Shahráshúb, *Manáqib ál Aby Tálib*, Vol. VIII. says: "'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib was the first who performed the ta*h*annoth on mount *H*ará. Ta*h*annoth means taaloh, worshipping God. He (Abd al-Mo*tt*alib) began it with the new moon of Ramadhán, and continued it during the whole of that month." *T*abary says:

fasted, fed the poor, and gave himself up to meditation; and on his return to Makkah he walked seven times round the Ka'bah before he went to his own house.

When he was forty years of age the first doubts concerning idolatry arose in his mind. The true believers ascribe this crisis to a divine revelation, and therefore carefully conceal the circumstances which may have given the first impulse. It is likely that the eccentric Zayd, whom he must have met in mount *H*ará, (see page 41 *supra*), first instilled purer notions respecting God into his mind, and induced him to read the Biblical history. To abjure the gods, from whom he had hoped for salvation, caused a great struggle to Mo*h*ammad, and he became dejected and fond of solitude. He spent the greater part of his time in *H*ará, and came only occasionally to Makkah for new provisions. Undisturbed meditation increased his excitement, and his over-strained brains were, even in sleep, occupied with doubts and speculations. In one of his visions he saw an angel, who said to him, "Read!" He answered, "I am not reading."[1] The angel laid hold of

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"It was the habit with the Qorayshites, who aspired to being thought very pious, to spend the month of Rajab on mount *H*ará in seclusion and silence. This habit was more particularly observed by the Háshimites. Every family had its separate place on mount *H*ará for this purpose, and some had buildings in which they resided during their seclusion."

(1.) The expression in Bokháry and Moslim is "Má aná biqáriin," which means "I am not reading" in the same way as "Jáany rasúlo-llahi, çallá-llaho 'alayhi wa sallama, laysa birákibi baghlin" means "The prophet came to me, and *he was not riding* a mule." (Tirmidzy, *Sham.* p. 376.) But at the time of Mo*h*ammad this idiom sometimes implied a refusal. Thus when the Qorayshites said to 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib, "Let us have a share in the well of Zamzam," he answered, "Má aná bifá'ilin"—"I am not doing it," or I will not do it, (Wáqidy, fol. 15.) In the same sense answered 'Alyy, in a tradition of Bokháry, when requested to erase a word from a letter which he had written—"Má aná billadzy am*h*áho"—"I am not the one who erases it"—that is to say, I will not do it. Yet modern Mo*h*ammadan writers say that this idiom implies that Mo*h*ammad did not know reading; and European orientalists have been misled by them; witness Weil, p. 46, note. In Ibn Is*h*áq's garbled version of this tradition the expression is, "Má aqrao," which may mean, "I do not read," or "What shall I read?" The author of the *H*ayát alqolúb takes it in the latter meaning; and so it is to be taken the third time, but not the first and second time.

him and squeezed him, until Mo*h*ammad succeeded in making an effort. Then he released him, and said again, "Read!" Mo*h*ammad answered, "I am not reading." This was repeated three times; and at length the angel said, "Read in the name of thy Lord, the Creator, who has created man of congealed blood;—read; for thy Lord is most beneficent. It is he who has taught by the pen (has revealed the scriptures); it is he who has taught man what he does not know." These are the initial words of a Súrah of the Qorân, and the first revelation which Mo*h*ammad received. If this dream was as momentous as authentic traditions make it, it must have been the crisis, which caused Mo*h*ammad to seek for truth in the books of the Jews and Christians. The words of the angel admit hardly any other sense: after much hesitation he determines to study the tenets of another faith, which was hostile to that of his fathers. His resolve is sanctioned by a vision, and he thanks the Creator, whom the Qorayshites always considered the greatest among their gods,[1] for having sent a revelation to direct man.[2]

It is certain, however, that no Musalman will admit the sense which I give to these verses of the Qorân; and Mo*h*ammad himself, in the progress of his career, formally denied having read any part of the scriptures before the Qorân had been revealed to him.[3] This, however, can only be true if he

(1.) *Qorán*, 31, 24, and *passim*.

(2.) Ibn Is*h*áq, who gives a garbled version of this tradition of 'Áyishah, says that the angel had a piece of brocade in his hand, which contained a book. If this were the case "read" would not mean "apply thyself to reading the Scriptures," but, "read this book." I may mention that *qara*, the Arabic word for reading, means technically to read, or chant, a sacred book, or to say prayers, though from memory.

(3.) God says in the Qorán, 29, 46 and 47, "In like manner (as we have sent revelations to former prophets) we have revealed the Book (i. e. the Qorán) to thee.. .. .. Thou didst not read any book (of revelation) before it, nor didst thou transcribe one with thy hands. Were this not the case the worldly-minded would be in doubt." Baydháwy says that this verse means that Mo*h*ammad did not know reading; but how he finds this sense in it I am at a loss to understand. 'Alyy b. Ibráhym a Shiah commentator on the Qorán, who flourished in the fourth century of the Hijrah, gives to this passage the same meaning in which I take it.

meant the first verses of the Qorân, that is to say, those mentioned above; for in the following revelations he introduces the names of most prophets, he holds up their history as an example to the Makkians, he borrows expressions from the Bible which he admired for their sublimity, he betrays his acquaintance with the gospels by referring to an erroneously translated verse of St. John for a proof of his mission,[1] and he frequently alludes to the legends of the Rabbins and Christians. Whence has the prophet of the Gentiles obtained his knowledge of the Biblical history? He answers the question himself: It is God who has revealed it to me.[2] This assertion satisfies the believer, and is a hint to the inquirer in tracing the sources of his information. He would hardly have hazarded it had he not obtained his instruction under considerable secresy. The spirit of persecution at Makkah, which manifested itself againt Zayd, made caution necessary for Mo*h*ammad, though originally he may have had no ulterior views, in making himself acquainted with another faith. Yet with all his precautions, the Qorayshites knew enough of his history to disprove his pretensions. He himself confesses, in a Súrah revealed at Makkah, that they said that the Qorân was a tissue of falsehood; that several people had assisted him; and that he preached nothing more than what was contained in the "Asá*t*yr of the Ancients," which he used to write, from the dictation of his teachers, morning and evening.[3] Who were the men, who instructed Mo*h*ammad? It

(1.) Christ said that he brought tidings of an apostle, who would come after him, and whose name would be A*h*mad, Qorán, 61, 6.—The passage to which this verse of the Qorán alludes is St. John, 16 : 7, &c. where Christ said, I go to my father, and the Paraclete shall come. It appears from Ibn Is*h*áq, who quotes St. John, that the Syriac translator read Periclyte, the illustrious or praised, instead of Paraclete; and that the word was rendered in the Arabic version, which was made from the Syriac, by A*h*mad, i. e. praised. The meaning of Mo*h*ammad is the same.

(2.) Qorán, 11, 51; 12, 103; 12, 3; and *passim;* but in another passage, 44, 13, Mo*h*ammad allows that the Qorayshites said, that he had been taught.

(3.) "Those who disbelieved said, This is nothing but a fiction which he has invented, and there assisted him in it other people, who had come by outrage and lie (to this country.) They say (his doctrine is) the asá*t*yr of the ancients, which he has

is not likely that he would have dared to declare before them, that the doctrines, which he had received from them, had been revealed to him; nor is it likely that, had they been alive after the new religion had become triumphant, they would have allowed him to take all the credit to himself. Those who exercised an influence upon Mo*h*ammad were his disciples; but we find no instance in which he appeared to buy secresy by submitting to the dictation of others. I am inclined to think, therefore, that his instructors died during his early career; and this supposition enables us to ascertain the names of some of them. The few specimens of the sayings of Zayd, which have been preserved, prove that Mo*h*ammad borrowed freely from him, not only his tenets, but even his expressions; and Zayd did not long survive Mo*h*ammad's assumption of his office. It is likely that Waraqah, the cousin of Khadyjah, who, it would appear, brought about her marriage with Mo*h*ammad,[1] who was the first to declare that the Great Law would be revealed to him, and who expressed a wish to assist him during the persecutions to which every prophet was subject, was one of his teachers. Waraqah died shortly before the time when he publicly proclaimed his mission. The defence of the prophet, that the man, of whom his countrymen said that he assisted him in writing the Qorân,

written for his own use, and which used to be dictated to him morning and evening." Qorán, 25, 5 and 6. The sentence, which I translate "who had come by outrage and lie," is usually supposed to mean that in making this assertion the Qorayshites ill used and slandered Mo*h*ammad. Though the sentence might admit of this sense, if it run bitzolm instead of tzolm, the pluperfect, which is used with more regularity in Arabic than in any other language, gives sense only if the pronoun refers to "other people." The meaning may possibly be that the teachers of Mo*h*ammad had taken refuge in Arabia for offences and heresies. Baydháwy surpasses himself in perverting the sense of these two verses of the Qorán; but I have the second half of an Arabic commentary of the Qorán, which is (erroneously) ascribed in the flypage to the Imám 'Asqary; and in this the sentence in question is explained: "And those teachers who helped Mo*h*ammad had come with (or brought) this doctrine," &c.

(1.) Ibn Is*h*áq says that Khadyjah told her cousin, that Mo*h*ammad, during his journey to Syria, which he undertook on her account, was shaded by two angels; and that he answered, "Be of good cheer; he will be the prophet of this nation;" and on this assurance she married him.

was a foreigner, and unable to write so pure Arabic as the language of the Qorân was, leads us to suspect that one of his chief authorities for the Biblical legends was 'Addás,[1] a monk of Niniveh, who was settled at Makkah. And there can be no doubt, that the Rabbins of the *H*ijáz communicated to Mo*h*ammad their legends. The commentators upon the Qorân inform us further, that he used to listen to Jabr and Yasár, two sword manufactures at Makkah, when they read the Scriptures; and Ibn Is*h*áq says, that he had intercourse with 'Abd al-Ra*h*mán, a Christain of Yamámah; but we must never forget that the object of these authorities, in such matters, is not to instruct their readers, but to mislead them.

It is certain, from the context, where the expression occurs, and from the commentators on the Qorân, that "Asá*t*yr of the Ancients" is the name of a book;[2] but we have very little information as to its origin and contents.[3]

(1.) *Qorán*, 16, 105; Baydháwy on 25, 6. See also farther on.

(2.) The term in Arabic is "Asá*t*yr alawwalyn." Baydháwy, 25, 6, explains these words by "Má sa*t*araho-lmotaqaddimún"—"what the ancients have written," or the writings of the ancients. In the *Tafs. Jalálayn*, 83, 13, p. 276, the term is explained by "The stories which were committed to writing in ancient times; the singular of asá*t*yr is os*t*úrah or is*t*árah." These authors derive the word is*t*árah or os*t*úrah (the change of the vowels of these two forms is analogous to that in the imperative; the original form may have been is*t*ora) from sa*t*r, which means to write; but it appears to me that it is a corruption of the Greek word *istoria;* because the plural form *afá'yl* or *afá'il* is most frequent in foreign words or quadriliterals, as qamámiç, from qomeç, a Count; asáqif, from asqaf, a Bishop; ba*t*áriq, from ba*t*ryq, a patrician; Jaláliq, from Jalliq, a Gallician, &c. A passage in Soyú*t*y's *Itqán fy 'ilmi-lqorán*, cap. 37, throws some farther light on this subject; he says "Jowaybir (?) states in his Commentary on the Qorán, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbás, to the words of the Qorán 17, 60, fy-lkitábi mas*t*úrá*n*, mas*t*úr means the same as maktúb, i. e. written; it is a word of the dialect of the Himyarites, who call a book os*t*úrah." According to this explaination asá*t*yr alawwalyn would mean the books of the ancients, and it would appear that not even the root s*t*r was known before Mo*h*ammad, in the *H*ijáz, in any other meaning than in that which it has in Hebrew, i. e. to rule with a mis*t*ar, ruler, or as a mosay*t*ir, magistrate. It may further be observed, that is*t*ora occurs in the Qorán only in the plural, and only in connexion with alawwalyn, ancients.

(3.) The book was probably translated from the Greek, as the title would indicate. Should Sergius have been the author or translator of it? How anxious the Mo*h*ammadans are to mislead us as to the nature of the book, may be seen from the Kashsháf. It is said in the Qorán, 8, 31:—"If our (God's) revelation

That dogmas were propounded in it, besides Biblical legends, appears from several passages of the Qorân, where it is said that it contained the doctrine of the resurrection.[1] It is also clear that it was known at Makkah before Mo*h*ammad; for the Qorayshites told him that they and their fathers had been acquainted with it before he taught it, and that all that he taught was contained in it.[2] Mo*h*ammad had, in all likelihood, besides, a version of portions of the Scriptures,[3] both of the genuine and some of the apocryphal works;[4] for he refers his audience to them without reserve. *T*abary informs us that when Mo*h*ammad first entered on his office, even his wife Khadyjah had read the Scriptures, and was acquainted with the history of the prophets.[5]

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is read to them, they say, We have already heard this, and we can tell similar things; this is nothing more than the asá*t*yr alawwalyn." On this verse it is observed in the Kashsháf:—"It is said that the man who made use of these words was al-Nadhr b. al-*H*árith, who was executed (by order of Mo*h*ammad after the battle of Badr.) When he heard God relating (through the mouth of his prophet) the stories of past generations, he said, 'If I choose I can relate similar stories.' He said so, for it was he who brought from Fáris a copy of the story of Rostom and Isfendiyár; and he was under the impression that it was like these legends, and that it formed a part of the asá*t*yr."

(1.) *Qorán*, 27, 70; 46, 16.

(2.) *Ibidem*, and 68, 15.

(3.) It is preposterous to suppose that, though the Arabs in the north and west of the Peninsula were Christians, and had a great number of monasteries, no translation of the Bible, or at least of a popular work containing the Scriptural History, was then extant in Arabic. When the Musalmans conquered *H*yrah, they found in the citadel young priests, who were Arabs, engaged in multiplying copies of the Bible. I have above, in page 40, note, asserted that the words of a tradition of 'Ayishah, which made some persons believe that Waraqah first translated the Scriptures into Arabic, mean simply that he knew to write Arabic, and that he copied in Arabic part of the Bible. I have since come into possession of a copy of Zarkashy's commentary on Bokháry. This author confirms the reading, which I have chosen, by observing on the words, *He used to write Hebrew*, "This is the reading of Bokháry in this passage; but the reading in Moslim is, He used to write *Arabic;* and this is also the reading of Bokháry in the chapter on Dreams; and this must be received as the correct reading, because both Bokháry and Moslim agree on it." He farther observes, on the words *He wrote the gospel in Hebrew*, "The Qádhy says, this is the reading in this passage; but the correct reading is in *Arabic*; and this expression is an idiom. The reading in Moslim is also, He wrote the gospel in Arabic."

(4.) In the Qorán the book of Abraham is mentioned; and it seems that Mo*h*ammad made much use of it. It is supposed that *Abrahami liber de Idolatria* is meant by it. Compare Fabricius *Cod. Pseudep. Vet. Test.* 1722, Vol. I. p. 400.

(5.) Bal'ámy's Persian translation of *T*abary. This fact is mentioned on the

In spite of the three passages of the Qorân quoted above,[1] the meaning of which they clumsily pervert, almost all modern Musalman writers, and many of the old ones, deny that Mo*h*ammad knew reading or writing. Good authors, however, particularly among the Shiahs,[2] admit that he knew reading; but they say he was not a skilful penman. The only[3] support of the opinion of the former is one passage of the Qorán, 7, 156, in which Mo*h*ammad says that he was the prophet of the ummyys, and an ummyy himself. This word, they say, means illiterate;[4] but others say it means a man who is not skilful in writing;[5] and others suppose it to mean a Makkian or an Arab.[6] It is clear that they merely guess, from the context, at the meaning of the word.[7] Ummyy is derived from ummah, "nation," (Latin *gens*, Greek *ethnos*); and on comparing the passages of the Qorân, in which it occurs, it appears that it means gentile, (Greek ethnicos.)[8] It is said in the Qorân, that some Jews are honest,

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occasion of Khadyjah's visit to Waraqah. The words of the original are—"Khadyjah bikitábhay pyshyn khwándah búd, wa khabrháy payghámbarán dánistah."

(1.) Page 96, and *ibid.* note 3, and p. 97, note 3.

(2.) The Shaykh Mofyd, i. e. Mo*h*ammad b. Mo*h*ammad b. No'mán, who died in A. H. 413, wrote a monography to prove that Mo*h*ammad knew writing. See Najáshyy.

(3.) Some ignorant authors strengthen their argument by the sentence in the tradition of 'Ayishah, explained in page 95, note.

(4.) Baydháwy on Súrah 2, 73; and 7, 156.

(5.) Zamakhsharyy on Súrah 2, 73—" má ya*h*sono-lkatba."

(6.) They derive it from Umm alqorá, which is a *modern* name for Makkah. —H*ayát alqolúb.*

(7.) If it occurs in an Arabic author, it has that sense which he conceived it implied in the Qorán. In Qodúry, p. 19, edition of Delhie, and in other Sunny law-books, in the chapter, *Who is to be the Imám in prayers?* it means illiterate; but in the *Katáyib al-Kafawyyah* the nations are divided into three classes, with reference to their religion; viz—ahl alkitáb, those who believe in revelation, like the Jews and Christians; shobah alkitáb, of whom it is doubtful whether they have a revelation, like the Magi; and ummyyún alkitáb, or pagans.

(8.) God addresses himself to the Jews, and says, "We have raised among the gentiles a prophet from among themselves," 62, 2. "Say to those, to whom the Bible has been given, and to the gentiles, Are you Moslims?" 3, 19. In the traditions it has the same meaning. Ibn Çayyád, a Jewish boy, when asked by Mo*h*ammad whether he considered him as a prophet, answered, "Yes, thou art the prophet of the Gentiles, (but not of the Jews)."—*Mishkát*, II, p. 375; *Taysyr*, p. 413. See also page 412. This tradition is in Bokháry and Moslim.

but others think there is no harm in wronging the ummyys.[1] Imám Çádiq observes, on this passage, that the Arabs are meant under ummyys, and that they are called so, though they knew writing, because God had revealed no book to them, and had sent them no prophet.[2] Several instances in which Mo*h*ammad did read and write are recorded by Bokháry, Nasáy, and others. They will be mentioned in the progress of these pages. It is, however, certain that he wished to appear ignorant, in order to raise the elegance of the composition of the Qorân into a miracle.

After these digressions, let us return to the account of the struggles of the prophet alluded to above. They were the labors under which he gave birth to a new religion; and, in all likelihood, many of the poetical effusions of this period were subsequently, by himself and others, considered as revelations, and inserted in the Qorân. According to one record, the doubts, indecision, and preparation of the prophet for his office lasted seven years;[3] and so sincere and intense were his meditations on matters of religion, that they brought

(1.) Súrah 3, 69. Even Baydháwy explains ummyy, in this instance, "those who do not believe in the Bible, and who are not of our (the Jewish) religion."

(2.) H*ayát alqolúb*, Vol. 2, c. 6, 2. The Imám also pointed out the contradiction which there would be in the verse (62, 2) of the Qorán, if ummyy meant illiterate: "He who sent among the illiterate an illiterate man, that he might *read* to them his signs." Still more direct is the testimony of Farrá, one of the most learned and earliest grammarians, having died in A. H. 207. He remarks, *apud* Ibn al-Rághib, *Vocab. Qor.* "The gentiles are the Arabs, who had no [revealed] book; homo-l'arabo-lladzyna lam yakon lahom kitábon."—It is easy to explain how an erroneous interpretation was given to ummyy. In Súrah 2, 73, the word is defined by "ummyyo*n* man lá ya'rifo alkitába," this may mean, "ummyy is a person who is not acquainted with the Bible;" or, "ummyy is a person who is not acquainted with writing." As kitáb means always a revealed book, when it occurs in the Qorán, the former must be the meaning.

(3.) "The prophet dwelt at Makkah fifteen years (after he had been called.) He used to hear a voice and to see a light for seven of these years, but nothing else; and for eight of these years he received revelations."—Ibn 'Abbás in Bokháry, in Moslim and in the *Mishkát*, II. p. 677. These hallucinations are confirmed by 'Orwah in Wáqidy, and by some other traditions; but that they lasted seven years is stated by Ibn 'Abbás only. They were subsequently turned into a miracle. "The prophet did not go near a hill or a tree but they said, Peace be to thee, O Messenger of God."—Trad. of 'Alyy in the *Mishkát*, II, p. 717.

him to the brink of madness. In the Qorân we can trace three phases in the progress of the mind of Mo*h*ammad, from idolatry to the formation of a new creed.[1] First, the religion of the Ka'bah, in which he sincerely believed, seems to have formed the principal subject of his meditations. The contemplation of nature, probably assisted by instruction, lead him to the knowledge of the unity of God; and there is hardly a verse in the Qorân which does not shew how forcibly he was struck with this truth. By mystifying the faith of his fathers he tried to reconcile it with the belief in one God; and for some time he considered the idols round the Ka'bah daughters of God, who intercede with him for their worshippers. But he gave up this belief, chiefly because he could not reconcile himself to the idea that God should have only daughters, which was ignominious in the eyes of an Arab; and that men should have sons, who reflect honor on a family. He also connected the idolatrous worship of the black stone, and the ceremonies of the *H*ajj, and almost all the other pagan usages of the *H*aramites, with their father Abraham. This idea was not his own. We have seen, in pages 38 and 39, that the sceptics, who preceded him, held the same opinion; yet it was neither ancient nor general among the pagan Arabs. We find no connexion between the tenets of Moses and those of the *H*aramites; and though Biblical

(1.) It is very difficult to fix the chronology of this period. The original information consists of detached traditions. Arabic biographers consider themselves justified in taking any liberty with them, as long as their account is pious enough. Starting with the conviction that he was by a miracle converted into a prophet, they are anxious to ascertain the exact date when he was gazetted, and omit every mention of the transition period, which is said to have lasted seven years. One tradition, in the H*ayát alqolúb*, places the beginning of his office in the 38th year of his life. Let us suppose that at that age he began to meditate on idolatry. The dream, in which he was ordered to read, and with which the second phase, i. e. the fatrah, began, he had after he had completed his fortieth year. It lasted upwards of two years; and he was probably in his 43d year when he had the apparition of the angel, and the fit, to be mentioned below. Three years he preached privately; but we must count these three years from his 41st year; so that it would appear that he publicly assumed his office when he was in his 44th year. I shall enter farther into this chronology in a note below.

names are very frequent among the Musalmans, we do not find one instance of their occurrence among the pagans of the *H*ijáz before Mo*h*ammad.

It has been mentioned that the vision, in which he was ordered to read, caused him finally to renounce idolatry. We are told that after this vision an intermission of revelation, called *fatrah*, took place, which lasted upwards of two years.[1] The meaning of *fatrah* is simply that, though this vision was a revelation, he did not assume his office for two or three years. It is certain that he composed many Súrahs of the Qorân during this time; and it must have been during this period that the tenets of the Jews and Christians seriously occupied his mind. Before the vision he was an idolator; and after the fatrah he possessed the acquaintance with the Scriptural history, which we find in the Qorân. Even after he had declared himself a prophet he shewed, during the beginning of his career, a strong leaning towards, and a sincere belief in, the Scriptures and Biblical legends; but in proportion to his success he separated himself from the Bible. This is the second phase in the progress of the prophet's mind. His belief in the Scriptures does not imply that he ever belonged to the Christian or Jewish church. He never could reconcile his notions of God with the doctrine of the Trinity, and with the divinity of Christ; and he was disgusted with the monkish institutions and sectarian disputes of the Christians. His creed was: "He is God alone, the eternal God; he has not begotten, and is not begotten; and none is his equal." Nothing, however, can be more erroneous than to suppose, that Mo*h*ammad was, at any period of his early career, a deist. Faith, when once extinct, cannot

(1.) "And after instructions coming to Mo*h*ammad, (i. e. after the words 'Read,' &c. were revealed to him), and after his prophetic mission being established (by the fact of his having received one revelation), the instructions stopped for some time; some say three years, others six months, and others two years and a half."—Mishkât, II. p. 679.

be revived; and it was his enthusiastic faith in inspiration that made him a prophet. Disappointed with the Jewish and Christian religions, he began to form a system of faith of his own; and this is the third phase of the transition period. For some time, it seems, he had no intention to preach it publicly;[1] but circumstances, as well as the warm conviction of the truth of his creed, at length prevailed upon him to spread it beyond the circle of his family and friends.

The mental excitement of the prophet was much increased during the fatrah; and like the ardent scholar, in one of Schiller's poems, who dared to lift the veil of truth, he was nearly annihilated by the light which broke in upon him. He usually wandered about in the hills near Makkah, and was so absent that on one occasion, his wife being afraid that he was lost, sent men in search of him.[2] He suffered of hallucinations of his senses; and, to finish his sufferings, he several times contemplated suicide, by throwing himself down from a precipice.[3] His friends were alarmed at his state of mind. Some considered it as the eccentricities of a poetical genius;[4] others thought that he was a *Káhin*, soothsayer;[5] but the majority took a less charitable view, and declared that he was insane; and, as madness and melancholy are ascribed to supernatural influence in the east, they said that he was in the power of Satan and his agents, the jinn.[6] They

(1.) God reprehends him in the Qorán, for unwillingness to preach what had been revealed to him. In the traditions we are told, that he declared, that if no one would believe him, he was sent for himself; and Wáqidy informs us, that for the first three years he preached secretly. (2.) Ibn Is*h*áq, p. 61.

(3.) "Mo*h*ammad was sorrowful at the suspension of the instructions, so much so that he wished to throw himself from the top of a hill, and destroy himself."—Tradition of '*A*yishah, *Mishkát*, II. p. 679. It is asserted by Wáqidy, that several times an invisible power kept him back from destroying himself.

(4.) "These are the words of an apostle, and not of a poet or káhin. They are a revelation."—Qorán 69, 41; 21, 5; and *passim*.

(5.) *Qorán*, 69, 40; 21, 5, and *passim*. "Thou art, by the grace of God, not a káhin, soothsayer nor majnún."—*Qorán*, 52, 29. See also 69, 42.

(6.) This is the accusation against which Mo*h*ammad defended himself more

called in exorcists;[1] and he himself doubted the soundness of his mind. "I hear a sound," he said to his wife, "and see a light. I am afraid there are jinn in me."[2] And on other occasions he said, "I am afraid I am a káhin."[3] "God will never allow that such should befall thee," said Khadyjah; "for thou keepest thy engagements, and assistest thy relations."[4] According to some accounts she added, "Thou wilt be the prophet of thy nation." And, in order to remove every doubt, she took him to her cousin Waraqah;[5] and he said to her, "I see thou (i. e. thy explanation) art correct; the cause of the excitement of thy husband is the coming to him of the great *nomos*, law, which is like the nomos of Moses.[6] If I should be alive when he receives his mission, I

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frequently than against any other. "Thou art, by the grace of God, not majnún."—*Qorán* 68, 2. This verse was revealed during the fatrah, whilst Khadyjah was gone to the monk 'Addás. Majnún means both mad, and possessed by jinn. "They say, He is certainly majnún."—*Qorán*, 68, 51. See also 81, 22; 15, 6; 26, 26; 44, 13; 51, 39; 37, 35; and passim. There occur other expressions in the Qorán, which have the same import as majnún; as—"There is none of the jinn in your countryman:"—34, 45. "It is not the devils, who reveal the Qorán."—26, 210. And, "They follow a man who is bewitched."—17, 50. It is remarkable that Mo*h*ammad seldom or never alluded to any of these ugly insinuations against the soundness of his mind, when he was at Madynah, and firmly established.

(1.) The Qorayshites, according to Ibn Is*h*áq, said, "Thy doctrine comes from a Raiyy, (i. e. an incubus, or one of the jinn), who besets thee. We have repeatedly spent money, to find a remedy, which might cure thee." In the Mishkát, II. p. 687, it is said that Dimád, who understood to charm the mad, (i. e. who was an exorcist), offered to cure Mo*h*ammad.

(2.) *H*ammád b. Salamah in Wádidy.

(3.) In a tradition of Ibn 'Abbás the prophet said, "O Khadyjah, by God, I dislike nothing more than these idols and the káhins; yet I am afraid I am a káhin myself." In a tradition of 'Orwah he in like manner says, "I fear I am a káhin." And in the well known tradition of 'Áyishah, which is in Bokháry and Moslim, he says, "I fear for myself."

(4.) Wáqidy; and in a somewhat different form in the *Taysyr*. Mo*h*ammad repeats this assurance of Khadyjah in the Qorán, 26, 21 and 222—"Shall I declare unto you upon whom the devils descend? They descend upon every lying and wicked person."

(5.) That it was on this occasion, during the fatrah, that Khadyjah took Mo*h*ammad to Waraqah, and not immediately after the revelation in which he was ordered to read, appears from two traditions in Wáqidy. According to some authorities, she went alone to Waraqah; and according to one, she sent Abú Bakr.

(6.) Nomos has the same meaning in Arabic as in Greek, i. e. *the Law;* and whenever it occurs in the traditions it gives a good sense only if taken in this

would assist him; for I believe in him." After this Khadyjah went to the monk 'Addás, and he confirmed what Waraqah had said.[1] Waraqah died soon after, before Mo*h*ammad entered on his mission.

The words of Mo*h*ammad, "I am afraid I am a káhin," require some explanation. The Arabs, previous to the promulgation of Islám, believed in káhins, soothsayers; and even in our days they have greater faith in saints and inspired persons than other equally uncivilized nations. Such a belief is so necessary a limitation of the personal freedom of the Bedouins, which knows no other bounds, that I consider it as the offspring of liberty. Even the most refractory spirit sees no humiliation in confessing his wrong-doings to a helpless seer, and in submitting to his decisions; and by doing so, if he has embroiled himself, he can return to peace with himself and with society. We find, therefore, in the ancient history of Arabia, that litigations were frequently referred to celebrated káhins. These, it would appear, were excentric persons, of great cunning, and not without genius. The speci-

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manner; yet, as later authors pervert every thing, they say it means the angel Gabriel. Compare Reiske to Abúlfidá, Adler's Edit. I. p. 28, and Nawawy Comm. on Moslim.

(1.) "When Khadyjah had seen Waraqah, she went to 'Addás, who was a christian monk, and was very learned. He was an old man, and his eyelids hung down over his eyes. She asked him the same question, and he gave her the same answer, as Waraqah; but he added:—It sometimes happens that the devil assumes the shape of an angel. Take this book to thy husband: and if he is possessed by jinn, or by Satan, he (Mo*h*ammad) will flee from it; but if God is with him, it will do him no harm. When Khadyjah came home, she found Mo*h*ammad sitting; and the angel Gabriel revealed to him this verse of the Qorán, 68, 1 and 2, 'Nún, by the pen, and by what they write with it, thou art, by the grace of God, not possessed by jinn. Verily there is prepared for thee an everlasting reward; for thou art of a noble disposition.' Upon this 'Addás came to see him."—*Hayát alqolúb*, and *Ma'árij alnabúwat*. The authority for this important tradition is, unfortunately, not mentioned. According to Ibn Is*h*áq, p. 137, 'Addás was a slave of the sons of Raby'ah; and though residing at Makkah, he had never heard of Mo*h*ammad's new creed. Accidentally he was sent by his masters to him, and heard him say, "In the name of God;" and "I am the brother of Jonas, for I am a prophet like him;" and he at once embraced his religion. Whenever Ibn Is*h*áq tells a story there is something to conceal. It appears from the *Rawdhat alahb*. that Sergius (on whom see p. 79), had a son of the name of 'Addás. Should these two men be identical?

mens, which we have, of their oracles, are obscure, and usually in rhymed prose and incoherent sentences; and they are frequently preceded by a heavy oath to the truth of what they say, like some of the Súrahs of the Qorân.[1] It was believed that they knew what was concealed from the eyes of common mortals; but they were looked upon with awe; for the Arabs conceived that they were possessed by, or allied with, Satan and the jinn.[2] The evil spirits used to approach the gates of heaven by stealth, to pry into the secrets, which were being transacted between God and the angels, and to convey them to the káhins. Existing prejudices left no alternative to Mo*h*ammad, but to proclaim himself a prophet, who was inspired by God and his angels, or to be considered a káhin, possessed by Satan and his agents, the jinn. Khadyjah and her friends advised him to adopt the former course; and, after some hesitation, he followed their advice, as it would appear, with his own conviction. His purer notions of the Deity, his moral conduct, his predelection for religious speculations, and his piety, were proofs sufficiently strong to convince an affectionate wife, that the supernatural influence, under which he was, came from heaven. But, as the pagan Arabs had very imperfect notions of divine inspiration, it was necessary for him to prove to them, by the history of the prophets, that some seers were inspired by God; and to this end, he devoted more than two-thirds of the Qorân to Biblical legends, most of which he has so well adapted to his own case, that if we substitute the name of Mo*h*ammad for Moses and Abraham, we have his own views, fate and tendency. And, in order to remove every doubt as to the cause of his excitement, Mo*h*ammad subsequently maintained, that since he had assumed his office heaven was surrounded by a strong guard of angels; and if the jinn venture to ascend to its pre-

(1.) The 85th, 86th, 89th Súrahs, and many others.
(2.) Mas'údy, cap. 52; *Qorán*, 72, 8; 6, 121 and 112, &c.

cincts, a flaming dart, that is to say, a shooting star, is thrown at them, and they are precipitated to the lower regions;[1] and, therefore, the káhins ceased with the commencement of his mission.

The declaration of Waraqah, and of the monk 'Addás, that the great nomos would descend upon him, and the faith of his wife, neither conveyed full conviction, nor gave they sufficient courage, to Mo*h*ammad, to declare himself publicly the Messenger of God; on the contrary, they increased the morbid state of his mind. A fatalist, as he was, it was a hallucination and a fit, which decided him to follow their advice. One day, whilst he was wandering about in the hills near Makkah, with the intention to destroy himself, he heard a voice; and, on raising his head, he beheld Gabriel between heaven and earth; and the angel assured him that he was the prophet of God.[2] This hallucination is one of the few clearly stated miracles to which he appeals in the Qorân.[3] Not even an allusion is made, in that book, to his fits, during which his followers believe that he received the revelations. This bears out the account of Wáqidy, which I have followed in the preceding pages, and proves that it was rather the exalted state

(1.) Súrah 72, and 67, 5.

(2.) "After the prophet had received the revelation on mount *H*ará, in which he was ordered to read, he did not see Gabriel for a long while; and he became very melancholy, so much so, that he went sometimes on mount Thabyr, and sometimes on mount *H*ará, with the intention of throwing himself down from it. One day, when the prophet was walking, in this state, to one of these hills, he heard a voice from heaven, and he stood like one petrified; then he raised his head, and saw Gabriel sitting with crossed legs between heaven and earth; who said, 'O Mo*h*ammad, thou art in reality the prophet of God, and I am Gabriel.' Mo*h*ammad returned. God had cheered him, and strengthened his heart. After this one revelation followed another."—A tradition of Ibn 'Abbás in Wáqidy.

(3.) After a heavy oath God says, in Súrah 81, 19—26, "This is the doctrine of an honorable prophet, who has power and influence with the Lord of the throne; he is obeyed and trusty: your countryman is not majnún, (i. e. inspired by jinn, or mad); for he has seen him, (the angel, who inspires him), in the open horizon, (that is to say, above the horizon, where we see the sun about half an hour after his rising, and therefore at a very great distance); nor does he grapple (like a káhin) with the secrets of heaven; nor does he preach the doctrine of a cursed devil." He repudiates all imputations, and declares himself a prophet, on the strength of this apparition.

of his mind, than his fits, which caused his friends to believe in his mission. Frightened by this apparition, he returned home; and feeling unwell he called for covering. He had a fit, and they poured cold water upon him;[1] and when he was recovering from it he received the revelation, "O thou covered, arise and preach, and magnify thy Lord, and cleanse thy garment, and fly every abomination;"[2] and henceforth, we

(1.) Bokháry on the 74th Súrah.

(2.) This is the fittest place farther to illustrate the chronology of the transition period of the prophet, and to shew the cause of some errors into which all European and most Arabic historians have fallen. For an outline of the supposed chronology I refer to page 103, note. According to Bokháry's version of the tradition of 'Áyishah, on the beginning of the revelation, which has served to most biographers as a guide, Mohammad went, after the vision, in which he was ordered to read, to Khadyjah, had the fit, and received the revelation "O thou covered;" and then the fatrah took place. But according to a tradition of Jábir, which is equally recorded by Bokháry, and rests on stronger authority than Bokháry's version of 'Áyishah's tradition, and according to some other traditions, and according to the opinion of Nawawy apud *Mawáhib alladonnyyah*, the fit, and the revelation "O thou covered," happened *after* the fatrah. The words of Jábir run, "The prophet heard once the fatrah mentioned in conversation, and he said, Whilst I was walking I heard a voice from heaven; and I raised my eyes, and there was the angel who had appeared to me on mount *Hará*, sitting on a throne between heaven and earth; and I was very much frightened, and threw myself on the ground; and when I came to my family I said, Wrap me up; and then I received the revelation, O thou covered, (and this ended the fatrah.)" Wáqidy's version of the tradition of 'Áyishah agrees literally with that of Bokháry in the narrative of the vision, but it stops there; for Khadyjah's visit to Waraqah, and the following details, he gives separate traditions, and he places these events at different times. It would therefore appear that Bokháry put three different accounts into the tradition of 'Áyishah. Some consider the revelation "O thou covered" as the first; because after it Mohammad virtually entered upon his mission. Yahyá b. Kathyr said, I asked Abú Salamah b. 'Abd al-Rahmán, what verse of the Qorán was first revealed? and he answered, "O thou covered." I said, But they maintain that the first verse was "Read in the name of thy Lord;" and Abú Salamah answered, I asked Jábir on this point, and I made the same observation which thou makest, and Jábir answered, I tell you only what the prophet told me. The prophet said, I staid on mount *Hará* one month; and when my stay was over I descended, and (on my way) I heard a voice calling me. I looked to my right, and saw nothing; and I looked to my left, and saw nothing; and I looked behind me, and saw nothing. Then I raised my head, and I saw something. I went to Khadyjah and said, Cover me; and they poured cold water over me; and then I received the revelation, "O thou covered!"— (*Mishkát*, Eng. transl. II. p. 682.) Those who adopt this opinion vitually deny the fatrah. It is clear we must make a distinction between his first revelation and his assumption of the prophetic office, and this distinction has been neglected by them. Assuming that the fatrah lasted two years, the dispute as to which verse of the Qorán was first revealed may clear up the discrepancy on the age at which Mohammad died. (See page 75, note.) All authors say that he was forty years of age when he had the vision in which he was ordered to read,

are told, he received revelations without intermission; that is to say, the fatrah was at an end, and he assumed his office.

This crisis of Mo*h*ammad's struggles bears a strange resemblance to the opening scene of Goethe's Faust. The poet paints, in that admirable drama, the struggles of mind, which attend the transition, in men of genius, from the ideal to the real—from youth to manhood. Both in Mo*h*ammad and in Faust the anguish of the mind, distracted by doubts, is dispelled by the song of angels, which rises from their own bosoms, and is the voice of the consciousness of their sincerity and warmth in seeking for truth; and in both, after this crisis, the enthusiasm ebbs gradually down to calm design, and they now blasphemously sacrifice their faith and God to self-aggrandizement. In this respect the resemblance of the second part of Faust to Mo*h*ammad's career at Madynah is complete. As the period of transition in the life of the prophet has hitherto been completely unknown in Europe, Goethe's general picture of this period, in the life of enthusiasts, is like a prediction in reference to the individual case of Mo*h*ammad.

Some authors consider the fits of the prophet as the principal evidence of his mission;[1] and it is therefore necessary to say a few words on them. They were preceded by great depression of spirits; he was despondent, and his face was clouded;[2]

and that he lived ten years at Madynah; but some say he remained thirteen years at Makkah after the first revelation, and others say fifteen. The former seem to take "O thou covered" for the first revelation, and the latter "Read in the name of thy Lord." If this conjecture is well founded, Mo*h*ammad attained an age of sixty five years.

(1.) Ibn Khaldún says, in his Introduction to History. in the 6th moqaddamah, "The sign that a man is inspired is, that he is at times completely absent, though in the society of others. His respiration is stertorous, and he seems to be in a cataleptic fit, or in a swoon. This, however, is merely apparent; for in reality such an *exstasis* is an absorption into the invisible world; and he has within his grasp what he alone is able to conceive, which is above the conception of others. Subsequently these spiritual visions descend, and become perceptible to the faculties of man. They are either whispered to him in a low tone, or an angel appears to him in human shape, and tells him what he brings from God. Then the exstasis ceases, and the prophet remembers what he has heard.

(2.) Obádah b. al-Çámit in Wáqidy, and in the *Mishkát*, II. 680. His words are: Idzá nazala 'alayhi-lwa*h*yo, karaba laho, wa tarabbada wajhoho.

and they were ushered in by coldness of the extremities and shivering. He shook, as if he were suffering of ague,[1] and called out for covering.[2] His mind was in a most painfully excited state. He heard a tinkling in his ears, as if bells were ringing;[3] or a humming, as if bees were swarming round his head;[4] and his lips quivered; but this motion was under the control of volition. If the attack proceeded beyond this stage, his eyes became fixed and staring, and the motions of his head became convulsive and automatic.[5] At length prespiration broke out, which covered his face in large drops; and with this ended the attack.[6] Sometimes, however, if he had a violent fit, he fell comatose to the ground, like a person who is intoxicated;[7] and, (at least at a latter period of his life), his face was flushed, and his respiration stertorous,[8] and he remained in that state for some time.

(1.) *T*abarány relates that Zayd b. Thabit said, "I was in the habit of writing down the revelations for the prophet; and when he received it a violent ague seized him, and he perspired very much. The drops of perspiration were as large as pearls:—akhadzat-ho bora*h*áo*n* shadydato*n*, wa 'ariqa 'araqá*n* shadydá*n* mithl aljomán."—*Mawáhib allad.*

(2.) "I (Mo*h*ammad) went to Khadyjah, and said, from fear, Wrap me up; and they wrapped me up, and poured cold water over me."—A tradition of Jábir in Bokháry, and in the *Mishkát*, II. 683.

(3.) A tradition of 'Áyishah in Bokháry and in Wáqidy.

(4.) A tradition of 'Omar in the *Taysyr*, p. 461.

(5.) 'Othmán b. Matz'ún, (who was one of the most intimate friends of Mo*h*ammad), was one day sitting with him. Whilst they were engaged in conversation, on a sudden he observed that the eyes of the prophet were for some time fixed towards heaven, and then to the right side. During this time his head was moving as if he were conversing. Then, after some time, he looked again towards heaven, and then to the left, and then to 'Othmán, who observed that his face was covered with perspiration. When he asked him the cause, he said, A verse of the Qorán (16, 92) has been revealed to me, viz.—"Verily God commandeth justice, and the doing of good, and the giving unto kindred what shall be necessary; and he forbiddeth wickedness and iniquity and oppression; he admonisheth you, that you may remember."—Ibn *T*áwus, from Imám Báqir, in the H*ayát alqolúb* and *Rawdhat alçafá*.

(6.) "'Áyishah said, I saw him, when the revelation descended upon him on a very cold day. Then the inspiration left him, and his forehead was covered with perspiration."—Bokháry.

(7.) 'Ikrimah in Wáqidy:—Kána, idzá úhiya ilá rasúlillah çallá-llaho 'alayhi wa sallama, woqidza lidzalika sá'ata*n* kahiyati-lsakrán.

(8.) "Ya'lá b. Omayyah used to say, I wish I could see the prophet when he receives the revelation. One day the prophet was at al-Ji'ránah, and his garment was spread over him in such a manner as to afford shadow, and many peo-

The bystanders sprinkled water in his face; but he himself fancied that he would derive a great benefit from being cupped on the head.[1]

This is all the information which I have been able to collect concerning the fits of Mo*h*ammad. It will be observed, that we have no distinct account of a paroxysm, between the one which he had in his infancy, and the one after which he assumed his office. It is likely that up to his forty-fourth year they were not habitual. The alarm of the nurse, under whose care he had been two years before he had the former of these two fits, shews that it was the first; and the age and circumstances, under which he had it, render it likely that it was solitary, and caused by the heat of the sun and gastric irritation. The fit, after which he assumed his office, was undoubtedly brought on by long continued and increasing mental excitement, and by his ascetic exercises. We know that he used frequently to fast, and that he sometimes devoted the greater part of the night to prayers. The bias of the Musalmans is, to gloss over the aberration of mind, and the intention to commit suicide, of their prophet. Most of his biographers pass over the transition period in silence. We

ple were with him. Then came a man, who was profusely perfumed; and he said, What dost thou think of a man, who performs the pilgrimage in a quilted jacket (jobbah) and anointed with perfume? The prophet looked for some time, and then came a revelation to him, and 'Omar made a sign to Ya'lá to come; and Ya'lá came and put his head (under the garment, under which Mo*h*ammad lay); and he saw that his face was red, and he snored in this manner for some time; then the attack left him. Then he said, Where is the man who asked me. just now, respecting the pilgrimage? and when he was brought to him he said, Wash off the perfume which is on thee three times, and take off thy quilted jacket, and then perform the pilgrimage."—Trad. of Çafwán, a son of Ya'lá, *apud* Bokháry. This is one of the most authentic traditions on the epileptic attacks of Mo*h*ammad. The words, in which the attack is described in the original, are: faidzá howa mo*h*amarro-lwajhi yaghi*tt*o kadzalika sá'ata*n* thomma sorriya 'anho. This happened in the eighth year after the Hijrah, during the expedition to *T*áyif. Al-Ji'ránah, or al-Ji'irránah, is between Makkah and *T*áyif. Sorriya 'anho, 'the attack left him," means, literally, he was uncovered; and, therefore, the opposite of jonna 'anho, which means, literally, he was covered. The latter term was applied to Mo*h*ammad by the unbelievers, in the sense, He is possessed by evil spirits, or he is subject to fits, or he is mad.

(1.) Wáqidy, folio 86. They used horns for cupping.

may, therefore, be justified in stretching the scanty information, which we can glean from them, to the utmost extent; and in supposing that he was for some time a complete maniac; and that the fit, after which he assumed his office, was a paroxysm of cataleptic insanity. This disease is sometimes accompanied by such interesting psychical phœnomena, that even in modern times it has given rise to many superstitious opinions. After this paroxysm the fits became habitual, though the moral excitement cooled down, and they assumed more and more an epileptic character.

Before closing this chapter, I will mention the view, which some Musalman philosophers take, of revelation. I quote the words of Ghazzály,[1] the Plato of the Musalmans; because he was orthodox, and his opinions are those of all philosophical Çúfy writers. "Man, in his fœtal state, is a raw mass, and has no perception of things around him. Yet the worlds of God are innumerable; or, as it is said in the Qorán, 'None knows the signs of God but he himself.' He becomes aware of things by the means of the senses and other faculties; every sense opens to him a new world of beings. The first sense developed in man is that of feeling: he perceives through it various things, such as heat and cold, wet and dryness, softness and hardness, &c.; but he cannot perceive, through it, colour nor sound; and they do not exist for him. After this the sight, the most far reaching of all the senses, through which he perceives colour,—and then the sense of hearing, through which sounds and melodies come to his knowledge,—are developed; and they open to him new worlds. And last of all comes the sense of taste. But the perception does not stop here. About the seventh year of his age the faculty of discrimination shews itself. This is a new phase in his life. He now perceives things which he

(1.) *Risálah Monqidz.*

could not perceive by his senses. And after this he rises still higher—the reasoning power is developed, by which he obtains a notion of things whose existence is necessary, of things whose existence is contingent, and of things whose existence is impossible; and of other things, of which he had no perception in any of the preceding phases. But there is a phase in man's life, which is even higher than that of reason: an eye opens in his mind, by which he sees mysteries, the future, and other things, which are not within the reach of our reasoning powers, in the same manner as the notions acquired by reason are not within the grasp of the senses. This higher faculty is called *nabúwat*, prophecy.[1] Some men of reasoning deny the existence of this higher faculty, and of its ideals, because they are not endowed with it; but their objections are as absurd as if a man born blind were to deny the existence of colour, and of the sense of seeing. A specimen of the faculty of prophecy in man are dreams, in which what will happen shews itself to him, either clearly, or allegorically. In the latter case an explanation of the dream is required. This ought to convince those who deny it, of the existence of this faculty. We are also told, that some men drop to the ground in a swoon, and they are like dead—the seeing, hearing and other senses are sealed, and in this condition they behold the mysteries." Lower down Ghazzàly says, many discoveries, in medicine and astronomy, cannot be the result observation; for it would require a thousand years to deduce them from experience; and that they must

(1.) Jonayd, the greatest, and one of the earliest of the Çúfies, (he died in A. H. 297), in the same sense says: "Alma'rifat ma'rifatán: ma'rifat ta'arrofin wa ma'rifat ta'ryfin"—gnosis is of two kinds: the gnosis of instinct, and the gnosis of demonstration. That is to say, we may arrive at the knowledge of the existence and nature of God either by intuition; or by the contemplation of his works, and by reasoning. The Çúfies consider the latter as most unsatisfactory, and condemn reasoning. This aphorism of Jonayd is very frequently used by the Mystics, and is alluded to in *Hájy* Khalyfah, *voce* ta'arrof; but the allusion has not been understood by the translator.

be ascribed to the prophetic faculty, by which he means genius; but, like all idealistic philosophers, he assigns to it an unlimited sphere, and believes in intuitive knowledge. According to this theory, Mo*h*ammad was endowed by Providence, for a special object, with a more elevated genius than any other man: and the revelations were sparks of his genius. All Çúfies aspire to prophecy, in the sense in which Ghazzály takes the word; that is to say, to intuitive knowledge of truth; but in a lower degree than Mo*h*ammad possessed it. Their discipline is calculated to induce a wild exaltation of the mind, which they consider as the symptom of inspiration. The sincere Çúfies live in solitude, fast, pray and incessantly meditate on the nature of God and eternity. At the same time they give themselves up to debilitating vices, and to the use of destructive stimulants, particularly opium. At times they meet in the wildest revels; they listen to singing, dance, and use every means to work themselves into fits of frenzy, which they call exstases. In this manner they ruin the health of mind and body, and induce a sickly exaltation of mind. Some of them even succeed in bringing on cataleptic insanity, which is the highest degree of perfection in ascetic life.

Some philosophers go one step farther than Ghazzály, in explaining revelation. They identify the angel Gabriel, the messenger of God to Mo*h*ammad, with the highest heavenly sphere, or the ether, which, in their opinion, is an ocean of pure reason, and the demiurg from which the lower spheres of the heaven, (each of which is an ocean of truth and intellect), and all other created beings emanate.[1] By mortify-

(1.) The dialectic philosophers differ slightly from the pantheists on this point. The theory of the former is more complicated, but not more sound. As it is little known, I quote the words of Abhary, whose *Isagoge* is the principal school book on philosophy in all Mo*h*ammadan countries. He entitles one chapter, "On the Angels; that is to say, the Pure Logoi, Reasons—fy-lmaláyikah wa hiya-l'oqúl almojarrad;" and says in it—"It has been proved above, that the Being, whose existence is a postulate, is one. Its first creation is the pure logos, ('aql, i. e. reason); and the heavenly spheres are the creations of the logoi. But in the heavens is plurality; and they must, therefore, arise from many origins;

ing or subduing the flesh, the mind of man may succeed, during exstatic moments, in stepping out of the bounds of individuality, and being merged in these oceans of intellect. The less perfect are merged in the lower spheres, and the more perfect in the higher. Mo*h*ammad had not only constant communications from Gabriel, the personification of the highest sphere, but in two trances he was absorbed into the Divinity itself. According to this opinion, the Qorân is a translation of the highest demiurg[2] from reality into words.

There has probably never been a Musalman philosopher, who disbelieved the miracles related of the prophet or of the saints. From the heavenly spheres emanate the souls of the

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for it has been proved, that from the one only the one can come. Now the logos, from which that heavenly sphere proceeds, which surrounds the universe, is a plurality; not because it emanates from the self-existing God, but because its nature (has two sides, whereas the unit is like a dot): in reference to itself its existence is only possible, and in reference to its causation its existence is a postulate; that is to say, in reference to the universe its existence is necessary, and in reference to itself its existence is a mere contingency. By one of these two relations the logos becomes the cause of the second logos, and by the other it becomes the cause of the universal sphere. It stands to reason, that the higher creation emanates from the higher bearing of the first logos; and therefore the second logos must emanate from the first logos, in consequence of the existence of the first logos being a necessity; and the universal sphere must emanate from it, in consequence of its existence being merely a contingency. In this manner emanates from every logos another logos, and a heavenly sphere, down to the ninth logos, from which the sphere of the moon and the tenth logos emanate. There are ten spheres of the heavens: seven correspond to the seven planets, and two are above them, and one below them. The tenth logos is the productive, or diversifying source of emanation; it rules the sublunary regions; and is also called the operative logos, and the molecules of the elements emanate from it, and also the shapes of the species."—Compare Avicenna's *Nijáh*, printed at Rome, with the Arabic edition of the Canon, in 1593, pp. 75 *et seq.*

(2.) The first demiurg is also identified with the tablet of fate, mentioned in the Qorán. Mo*h*y al-Dyn 'Araby wrote a monography on this subject. Faust, in Goethe, conjures equally the Macrocosmos, who, like Gabriel, is a demiurg; as appears from his own words:—

"So schaff' ich am sausenden Webstuhl der Zeit,
Und wirke der Gottheit lebendiges Kleid."

But Faust had not advanced so far as Mo*h*ammad, and he is unable to comprehend him. The Macrocosmos, therefore, reproves him for the presumption of having called him, and tells him to invoke a lower spirit. After that Mephistopheles volunteers his services; they are accepted; and henceforth he is the Mentor of Faust, as Gabriel is of Mo*h*ammad. How strangely, sometimes, fictions resemble each other!

earth;[1] and men, who are in communication with them, not only know their intention, i. e. the future, beforehand; but they can influence them in their actions. The theories of Mo*h*ammadan mystics are fantastic enough to explain any thing marvellous: their difficulties begin when they come to facts. Why should the prophet, whose whole life they consider as an uninterrupted series of miracles, have met any hardship or difficulty? Why should not the world have been converted, in an instant, by a miracle? Jamály, a mystical poet, and author of a biography of Mo*h*ammad in Persian verse, gets over this difficulty by representing his life as an allegory. It was a play, enacted in reality, and expressive of the nature of God and the laws of the universe.

SECOND CHAPTER.

Origin of the belief in the supernatural powers of Mo*h*ammad*; the three miracles mentioned in the Qorán; how they were subsequently enlarged; the* mi'ráj, *or transfiguration; trifling events turned into miracles by* Mo*h*ammad *himself; legendary history of the first forty years of his life; Sergius, Nestor, the Jews and astrologers recognize in him the prophet; peculiarities in his appearance betokening his vocation; the manner in which he received the revelations.*

Nothing could be more remote from the ideas which the Makkians entertained of a Messenger of God, than that he should stand in need of nourishment, and walk in the streets,

(1.) One stage in the manifestation of God, and consequently, according to some, one heavenly sphere, is therefore called *'álam almithál;* which means, the world in which things exist as living ideas, but not yet united with matter.

like other men.[1] In addition to the strongest proof of his mission, they required of him some amusement, and substantial advantages, in return for their faith. They expected nothing less than that he should cause a spring of water to gush forth for them out of the earth; that he should produce gardens of palm trees and vines; and cause rivers to spring forth from the midst thereof in abundance; or that he should command heaven to fall down upon them in pieces; or that God and his angels should descend to vouch for him; or that he should have a house of gold; or ascend by a ladder to heaven, and bring back with him a book containing the revelations.[2] The prophet answered, that he was a man like others; that all former prophets had been men walking in the streets and eating food; that he neither expected a reward, or any other personal advantages, for his preaching; that God had ordered him to admonish them; and that, if they would not listen, they would see the miracles of the Lord, who speaks in thunder and lightning; and those miracles would be their destruction.[3] When they would see the punishment approaching, they would believe, and they would pray to God for another trial; but it would not be granted; for it would be of no use—as soon as the fright was over, they would return to their former life. He asks them, whether their caravans had never passed the Dead Sea? and whether they had not seen the destroyed cities of former nations? They were standing miracles. The inhabitants of those cities were more powerful and wealthier than the Makkians; God sent prophets to them, who, like Mo*h*ammad, were merely men. The unbelievers accused them of imposture, and asked for other signs than those, which they wrought; and the sign which God did grant to them was

(1.) *Qorán*, 25, 8.
(2.) *Qorán*, 17, 92 to 95.
(3.) *Qorán* 6, 5 and *passim*.

their destruction. This answer to the request of the people, to authenticate his mission by miracles, is repeated, more or less explicitly, in most of the early Súrahs of the Qorân. The Qorayshites asked him when their punishment would come? and he evaded their question by saying that "the hour" is one of the five things, which God alone knows.[1]

The friends of Mo*h*ammad, and those who went with the spirit of the times, were enchanted by the spell of his genius and the warmth of his enthusiasm. The flowing language in which he condemned idolatry, and preached the one God, conveyed conviction, not only that his doctrine was true, but that the man who preached it was the Messenger of God. They believed that at times, particularly during his paroxysms, the Spirit descended upon him; and they did not doubt that the angel Gabriel had visibly appeared to him; and in this manner a belief grew up in his miraculous powers during his life time. He fostered it with great caution, and took

(1.) In this argumentation there was less design than might appear. Mo*h*ammad himself, having an extremely melancholy temperament, was firmly persuaded that the end of the world was close at hand. Even at Madynah he was not free from this fear. "The prophet said, I have been sent at the breathing (beginning) of the hour (or resurrection); and I precede it, as this precedes this. In saying so he pointed to his fore finger and middle finger."—A trad. of al-Mostawrid b. Shaddád in Tirmidzy. The latter part of the tradition is also in Bokháry and Moslim, on the authority of Anas.—"Some Bedouins came to the prophet and asked him, when the hour would come? He looked at the youngest of them and said, This man, if he live, will not attain his decrepid age before your hour comes upon you."—A trad. of 'Áyishah in Bokháry and Moslim.

Towards the end of his life he found a Jewish boy, of the name of Ibn Çayyád, at Madynah, of whom he declared that he was the Antichrist. This boy was blind of one eye and had long teeth; and it is said of him, as it is said of Mo*h*ammad, that though his eye might be asleep, his heart was awake; and he said of himself that he saw the throne of God (in a vision) swimming on water; and that he saw paradise, the earth of which was as white as flour twice sifted, and the smell of which was as sweet as musk. The Jews seem to have considered him as a prophet; and it was very likely this vision of Ibn Çayyád, which induced Mo*h*ammad to cram his followers with the story of his ascent to heaven. Ibn Çayyád also asserted, that two spirits used to come to him, one of whom told him truth, and the other falsehood. Mo*h*ammad, with a view of trying him, said he had received a revelation, and made him guess the contents. Ibn Çayyád said, In it mention is made of dokh, dokh. It was indeed the verse of the Qorán, 44, 9. in which the word dokhán, smoke, occurs. Being in a trance he was not able clearly to pronounce the word dokhán.—*Mishkát*, II. p. 375, *et seq*.

care not to abuse it; at least during his early career. After his death this legendary history was expanded into a system of symbolics, which is highly poetical, and has much meaning. Its details are so extensive, that to enter into them would be tedious. I therefore content myself with laying bare its nucleus; with shewing, by an example, the way and spirit in which it was first developed; and with relating some of the best known legends.

He appeals in the Qorân to three or four miracles.[1] The first has been related in the preceding chapter, p. 109. The account of the second is coupled with that of the first in the following words:—"By the star when it passeth away, your countryman does not err, nor is he led astray, in what he preaches; he has not his own way, but a revelation he does say; a mighty one, of great sway,[2] personally appeared to him in open day, where there rises the sun's ray; high in the sky, he did fly; then he drew nigh in his array, and only two bows' distance from him he did stay, that the revelations, which he had to say, he might to his servant convey. How can Mo*h*ammad's heart a falsehood state? Why do you with him on his vision debate? He saw him another time, in the

(1.) As the fourth miracle alluded to in the Qorán, most authors consider the splitting of the moon. "The moon was split, at the time of the prophet, into two parts; one part was above (according to another version beyond) the mountain, and the other this side of it; and the prophet said to the people, Be witnesses."—A tradition of Ibn Mas'úd. "The inhabitants of Makkah requested the prophet to show them a sign, and he showed to them the moon split into two parts; and mount *H*ará was between them."—A tradition of Anas. These two traditions are both in Bokháry and Moslim; but Wáqidy makes no mention of this miracle. The words of the Qorán, which are supposed to allude to it, do not, however much we may distort them, admit such a sense. It is said, in Súrah 54, 1, "The hour (of judgment) has approached, and the moon has been split. Whenever they see a sign, they say, This is a well devised trick of slight of hand. They have accused the prophets of falsehood, and follow their own lust; but every thing is fixed. A message had come to them, (before this sign came to pass), to warn them," &c. He reminds the Makkians, in these words, of the day of judgement. And all Mohammadans believe that on that day the moon will be split.

(2.) Some Commentators consider these words as a paraphrase of the name of Gabriel which means, The Powerful of God.

same state; at the sidrah tree[1] of the limit he did wait; there to the garden of repose is the gate; and whilst the tree was covered, with what at the top of it hovered, Mo*h*ammad attentively looked, and his eyes from the sight did not deviate;[2] for he saw the greatest of the signs of his Lord."[3] These words seem to admit of only one meaning. He again appeals to his interview with Gabriel, which he had mentioned in a former Súrah;[4] and adds, that he had appeared to him a second time. Though this explanation is confirmed by good traditions,[5] most Mussalmans maintain that it was God who appeared to him. This they say is proved by the words "that the revelations which he had to say, he might to his servant convey;" for it would amount to idolatry had Mo*h*ammad called himself the servant of Gabriel. They also say the words "he saw the greatest of the signs of his Lord," mean, that God appeared to him, over the sidrah tree of the limit, face to face. All authorities agree, that during this ap-

(1.) Sidrah is a prickly plum tree, which is called *Ber* in India. It is the *zizyphus Jujuba* of Lineus. It is very frequent in India. The fruit, which ripens in February, is eaten; and a decoction of the leaves is used, by the Musalmans of all sects in this country, to wash the dead, probably on account of the sacredness of the tree. The decoction is also used externally in inflammatory fever. Sprengel and Sontheimer suppose the sidrah to be the Zizyphus Lotus.

(2.) I suppose he means to say he was not labouring under an optical error.

(3.) *Qorán*, 53.

(4.) *Qorán*, 81, 19—26. See for a translation p. 109, *note* 2.

(5.) "It is the angel Gabriel, with six hundred wings, who was two bows' distance from the prophet." A tradition of Ibn Mas'úd in Bokháry and Tirmidzy. In Moslim it runs, "He saw in this instance the angel Gabriel in his proper shape." "Masrúq said, I went to 'Áyishah and asked her whether Mo*h*ammad had seen God? and she replied, Thou hast said a blasphemy, at which my hair stands. I said, Keep quiet; and I repeated to her the words, For he saw the greatest of the signs of his Lord (i. e. God himself.) 'Áyishah replied, Gabriel is here meant. Who has told thee that Mo*h*ammad saw his Lord, or that he concealed any order that he received from God, or that he knew the five things which God alone knows, among which are the time of the day of judgement and the time when it will rain? Mo*h*ammad has seen Gabriel in his proper shape only twice; once at the sidrah of the limit, and once in Ajvád (which is the name of a hill below or South of Makkah). He has six hundred wings; and on the latter occasion he shut the horizon."—A tradition of Sha'by in Bokháry and Mosilm. *Taysyr*, p. 77.—See also Hottinger, *Hist. orientalis*, Zürch, 1660. Hottinger quotes, in page 403, an interesting passage of Kisáy bearing on the above verses of the Qorán, and the substance of which is fully borne out by the Qorán, 7, 139.

parition he received the command to say prayers at stated times every day; but on the time when he saw it a great diversity of opinions prevails: from the context, however, it is clear, that it happened soon after the first, that is to say, soon after his mission.[1] In all traditions, with the exception of one of 'Áyishah, it is stated, that the sidrah of the limit, the place where the prophet had the apparition, is the seventh heaven; and this was probably Mohammad's tale at Madynah. As long, however, as he was at Makkah, he seems to have allowed, that it was near that city.[2] The following pages will explain what gave rise to such a diversity of opinions on these verses of the Qorân.

The third miraculous event alluded to in the Qorân is the isrà or nightly journey to Jerusalem, which he made about a year before the Hijrah.[3] "Glory to him, who carried his servant, during the night, from the sacred place of worship of Makkah, to the farther place of worship at Jerusalem, which we have surrounded with our blessing, with a view to shew

(1.) This is also apparent from the order in which the Súrahs of the Qorán were revealed, and confirmed by good authorities. The Súrah, in which the first time the first apparition of the angel is appealed to, is, according to the *Fihrist* of Ibn Aby Ya'qúb Nadym, the 7th in chronological order; and that in which it is coupled with the second apparition, is the 22d. It will been shewn in the following chapter that the latter Súrah was revealed six or seven years before the *H*ijrah. It appears from Ibn Is*h*áq, that he received the command of praying five times a day, which I take to be synonymous with the second apparition, before 'Alyy, the second convert, embraced his religion; and it is stated in the *Ma'árij alnab.* that some authors place it in the first year of his mission. In a tradition of Shorayk, and in one of Kathyr b. Khonays, from Anas *apud Mawáhib allad.* he had this apparition before he entered on his office, that is to say, during the transition period. *T*abary, in the Arabic text, says the first command which Mo*h*ammad received after God had taught him His unity and the vanity of idolatry, was the daily prayers; and he relates the apparition of Gabriel, in which he conveyed this command to the prophet, in the words of Ibn Is*h*áq. Wáqidy erroneously places it on the 17th Ramadhán, eighteen months before the flight; and other authors identify it with the nightly journey to Jerusalem, and place it one year before the *H*ijrah.

(2.) Ibn Is*h*áq says that Gabriel appeared to Mo*h*ammad, in the neighbourhood of Makkah, to communicate to him the order of the daily prayers, and to show him the ceremonies to be observed.

(3.) Wáqidy says it took place on the 17th of Raby' I. a twelve-month before the *H*ijrah. The Súrah in which it is mentioned is the 47th in chronological order.

him some of our miracles."[1] It is stated in authentic traditions, that he spent the night, on which he made this journey, under the roof of Omm Hány; and that, though she belonged to the flock of the faithful, she declared that he had never left the house; and advised him not to divulge the miracle which she considered a dream, in order not to be ridiculed. The angel Gabriel, however, commanded him to reveal it, and he went to the Ka'bah and related it to the assembled Qorayshites. Those who had seen Jerusalem asked him how many gates the temple had, and other questions, with a view of testing his veracity. He was able to answer their queries, because the angel Gabriel held Jerusalem, whilst he was speaking, before his eyes. All good traditions agree on the latter part of the story, though they differ in all other details;[2] and therefore taking this miracle in connection with his assertion, that the biblical history had been revealed to him, I consider it as an unblushing forgery: he sold a description of the temple of Jerusalem, which he may have obtained from books, or oral information, to the best advantage! The assertion, that he acted on his conviction in proclaiming himself a prophet, will not be considered inconsistent with this accusation by men who know human nature. Enthusiasm, in its progress, remains as rarely free from fraud, as fire from smoke; and men, with the most sincere conviction of

(1.) *Qorán*, 17, 1.

(2.) "I heard the prophet saying, When the Qorayshites accused me of imposture, I was in the *H*ijr near the Ka'bah, and God showed to me Jerusalem. I was thus enabled to tell them its signs (or to give them a description of Jerusalem); for I was looking at it." A tradition of Jábir in Bokháry, in Moslim, and in Tirmidzy, confirmed by a tradition of Abú Horayrah in Moslim and in Bokháry, and a tradition of Omm Hány in Wáqidy. In the latter tradition it is stated, that Gabriel held Jerusalem before him, because he had forgotten what he had seen when he was there. The Musalmans early saw that his being able to describe Jerusalem was not a sufficient proof of his nightly journey; and they added, that he gave also an account of Makkian caravans, whom he saw on the road; and on the arrival of the caravans at Makkah it turned out correct. There is, neither in the Mishkát nor in the Taysyr, a tradition for this addition to the story; but it is mentioned by Ibn Is*h*áq, and alluded to by Wáqidy.

the sacredness of their cause, are most prone to commit pious frauds. It is said that some of his followers could not believe this miracle, and left him; but it made a very strong impression upon those who remained stanch—it being the only one in proof of which he could adduce some evidence. They asked him respecting the manner in which he made his journey, and for a description of the prophets who, he said, had been awaiting his arrival in the temple of Jerusalem; for an account of the conversation, which he held with them; and a thousand other questions; and in measure as their faith and number increased, he enlarged his narrative. As long as he remained at Makkah a journey to Jerusalem and back again, performed in one night, might be miraculous enough to convince caravan merchants, whose occupation it was to toil through the desert, longing to attain the end of their journey, of his divine mission; but it was different at Madynah. The Jews of that city professed to acknowledge that he was the prophet of and for the gentiles, but not for the Jews or Christians;[1] and in opposition to him they related the history of *their* prophets, adding endless rabbinical legends; a boy among them went so far as to pretend, that he saw the throne of God and the gardens of paradise, and that he was himself a prophet. Mo*h*ammad had allowed at Makkah, (Qorân, 7. 141), that Moses had been raised by God above all other men, by having, on mount Sinai, been called into his presence. His followers would not have been satisfied, had their prophet not received a similar or greater favor;[2]

(1.) There is reason to suppose that he originally professed the same opinion.

(2.) Mo*h*ammad says in a tradition of Abú Sa'yd apud *Mawáhib allad.*—"Moses said, The Israelites are of opinion that I am the most glorious prophet in the eyes of God; but Mo*h*ammad is more glorious than I am." In Omawyy's version of this tradition is added, "If Mo*h*ammad was alone this might be the case, (i. e. Moses might be superior to Mo*h*ammad); but with him is a nation, which is the noblest of nations in the sight of God." There are numerous traditions, and some verses of the Qorán revealed at Madynah, which show that he wished to be considered the greatest of all prophets.

therefore taking advantage of their belief in his nightly journey to Jerusalem, he added from time to time such details as might counterbalance any thing that might be said of the Jewish prophets or of Christ. It is true, the new additions were not always consistent; but the contradictions added mysteries to the miracle. By degrees the nightly journey became the most gorgeous fiction ever invented by the wildest imagination. It would furnish many subjects for the pencil of Mr. Martin, and has been the theme of thousands of Persian poems. Though the accounts, which we find in Arabic and Persian authors, are not free from later additions, the numerous records of Mo*h*ammad's own words give us the assurance, that the narrative, in its main features, emanated from himself. There is no event in his life, on which we have more numerous and genuine traditions than on his nightly journey.[1] As he pretended to have ascended from Jerusalem to heaven, it is also called Mi'ráj. This term means originally ladder, but may be freely translated by transfiguration.

I will now give a brief account of the Mi'ráj. The angel Gabriel roused the prophet from his sleep, and said, "The Lord sends for thee, and I will take thee to him; for he intends to bestow glory upon thee, the like he has not bestowed on any other being, nor will he bestow it on any other. No ear has heard it, nor has it come into any man's heart, what is prepared for thee." The prophet wished to perform first the sacred ablutions, and the angel brought him water from the Kawthar, a pond of Paradise, for the purpose. When he

(1.) It is stated in the *Rawdhat alahbáb*, and in the *Ma'árij alnab.*, that there are traditions of twenty companions of the prophet extant on the mi'ráj. The names of most of them are mentioned in the *Mawáhib*, and all the traditions were collected by the *Háfiz* 'Abd al-Ghanyy. They filled two juz, or 40 pages quarto. Some traditions contain an account of the whole mi'ráj, others only of details, or sights which he saw during the mi'ráj, such as the pond called Kawthar, &c.

was purified, he performed the ceremony of seven times encompassing the Ka'bah; and the angel cut open his body, took out his heart, washed it in Zamzam water, and having filled it with faith and knowledge he put it again into its place. He dressed him in a robe of light, and put a turban of light on his head. In the turban forty thousand times the words, Mohammad is the prophet of God! Mohammad is the friend of God! were interwoven in rays of light of various colours. It had existed seven thousand years before the creation of Adam, and had been guarded by forty thousand angels, who were constantly occupied with the praise of God and benedictions on his prophet, and who accompanied Gabriel when he took it to the prophet, and formed part of his escort. After these preparations the Boráq was brought, which, according to some authorities, was the horse of all the prophets; but others are of opinion that there are forty thousand Boráqs grazing in the garden of Paradise; and that on the forehead of the one, which had the honor of being selected on this occasion, the words were inscribed, There is no God but the God, and Mo*h*ammad is the prophet of the God. When the Messenger of God first acquainted his countrymen with his journey to Jerusalem, their interest centred in the wonderful animal, which carried him in so short a time there and back again; for the Arabs were passionately fond of racing, and great connoiseurs of horse flesh. The angels and prophets attracted their attention much later. The earliest account of Mo*h*ammad, therefore, contains a very detailed description of the Boráq, but hardly any other details. He was larger than a donkey, and smaller than a mule; had the face of a man, the ears of an elephant, the hair and mane of a horse, the neck and tail of a camel, and the hoofs of a bull; his red chest sparkled like a ruby, and his white back like a pearl; and to his shoulders wings were at-

tached, which, when spread reached from the eastern point of the horizon to the western; and such was his swiftness, that he went at every step as far as the eye could see. When the prophet mounted, Gabriel had the honor to hold the stirrup, and he ran along side the Boráq; Michael put the reins into his hands, and Isráfael took off the cloth, with which the saddle had been covered to keep it clean, threw it over his shoulders, and ran behind the Boráq; and when the prophet intimated, that he did not wish that he should give himself so much trouble, the angel said, "Centuries after centuries I have been serving under the throne of God; at length my services were approved of, and God offered me a reward. I answered, The favor which I crave is, that I may be permitted to serve one hour the friend of God, whose name is inscribed in the steps of thy throne. My prayers were listened to, and God said, In the night of his glory thou shalt have the honor to carry his saddle cloth from Makkah to Jerusalem." The Boráq, not having been ridden since the time of Christ, was somewhat fresh. Gabriel put his hands on the mane, reproved him for his impatience, and told him that the greatest of all prophets was on his back; and he was so frightened that his face was covered with perspiration; and now they started. Mo*h*ammad said, If I let the reins loose he ran; and if I gave him the spur he flew. The number of angels which escorted him is variously stated, from forty to fifty thousands. On the road he made three halts for saying prayers—at Madynah, at Madyan and at Bethlehem. He met with but few adventures: once he heard a voice from his left, and then one from his right, and after that he saw a beautiful woman before him, calling on him to stop; but he paid no attention. Subsequently he was informed by the angel, that had he listened to the first voice, his followers would have embraced Judaism; and if he had

answered the second call, they would have turned Christians; and if he had attended to the lady, who was a personification of the world, they would have sacrificed Paradise for the pleasures of this life. The moral condition of the faithful in our days furnishes a strong reason for suspecting, that he did not sufficiently resist his natural penchant for the fair sex in this instance. When he arrived at Jerusalem, legions of angels were drawn up before the temple, (i. e. the church of the resurrection), to pay him homage, and to convey to him the greetings of God. Gabriel tied the Boráq to the door of the temple, on the very same ring on which the prophets used to fasten him; but according to one account, he pointed with his forefinger to a stone, and by doing so he bored a hole through it, in which he tied the Boráq. In the temple all the prophets were assembled. They were presented to him by Gabriel, and greeted him cordially as their elder brother. He observed that Moses was a lean man, and you would have taken him, for an Azdite. Jesus resembled 'Orwah, one of the friends of Mo*h*ammad; and Abraham was more like Mo*h*ammad himself than any man he had ever seen. After the presentation the company, including the angels, said prayers; and the messenger of God, as the greatest among them, acted as Imám, or priest. Most of the prophets then made a speech, in which they praised God, and thanked him for the favors bestowed on them.

First spoke Abraham, and last Mo*h*ammad. Christ adressed the assembly as follows: "Praise and glory be to God, the cherisher of the world, that God who has made me his Word, and created me like Adam from nothing: he formed him of clay and said, Be, and he was. He has taught me the Gospel, and given me wisdom, and endowed me with such miraculous powers that I shaped a fowl of clay, and breathed into it, and it became a living being; and he cured through me

the blind-born and healed the leper; and he made me ascend to heaven, and purified me.[1] He protected my mother against the devils, whilst she was pregnant, in order that they might gain no sort of power over us." After these speeches Gabriel took the Messenger of God by the hand, and led him to the rock, upon which the mi'ráj, Jacob's ladder, stands.[2] One side of the ladder is of ruby, and the other of emerald; and one leg is of gold and the other of silver; both are inlaid with precious stones. It reaches from earth to heaven, and is divided into fifty stages, each of which is seventy years' journey long. By this ladder the angels descend from heaven and ascend again, and the souls of the dead wander by it into the other world.

The prophet rode up the ladder on the Boráq. At the top of it he saw an angel, who held between his two hands the seven earths and the seven spheres of heaven; and he told him that he had been located there twenty five thousand years before the creation of Adam, and that he had all this time been anxiously looking forward for his arrival. Beyond this angel he came to the ocean of sublunary life, in which every living being exists (as an idea) before it descends on earth and becomes a reality; and to which every living thing returns when it leaves the earth. It is suspended in the air, and of a blue hue, and gives that color to the skies. Above this ocean are the winds. They are fettered with seventy thousand chains, and every chain is superintended by seventy thousand angels. After this he had to pass through the lowest planetary sphere—to every heaven corresponds such a sphere—and finally he arrived at the gate of the heaven of the world. At the gate of this heaven, which is called the gate of the

(1.) So far this speech is an allusion to Qorán, 3, 40 *et seqq.*
(2.) Gagnier, *La vie de Mahomet*, I. p. 265, informs us, that this is the foundation stone of the temple; and that on the same stone Jacob saw the ladder of heaven.

guardian angels, endless legions of angels held watch. Gabriel knocked at the gate; and when the porter had been informed, that he brought the Messenger of God, he was admitted and received with the greatest attention. The prophet was struck with the myriads of angels who peopled those regions, and all of whom were in postures observed by the Musalmans in their prayers. Gabriel informed him that they were eternally employed in praising God. When he advanced further he observed a magnificent throne of precious stones, and upon it a man was seated dressed in light. This is thy father Adam, said Gabriel; go and greet him. At the right and left of the father of mankind the souls of the deceased were drawn up like armies, and passed in review before him. At those on the right he looked with joy and satisfaction, but at those on his left with displeasure and grief; for they were the souls of sinners and unbelievers. Farther on there was at the right the gate of paradise, and at the left that of hell. Those who had been neglectful in their prayers had their heads beaten with stones by angels; the avaricious, who refused to assist the poor and to the give the legal alms, were naked, hungry and thirsty; and they were driven to the food and drinking places of hell, as beasts are driven to pasture. Robbers, thieves and cheats were seated at a table covered with every imaginable delicacy, but they were not allowed to partake of it—their food was carrion. Scoffers and slanderers had to carry heavy logs of wood with immense spikes in them, which tore their flesh, as they had wounded the feelings of their brethren. Thus he saw every sin punished in an appropriate manner.

The other six heavens do not essentially differ from the first. In every one Mo*h*ammad found the door shut and guarded by angels; but he was readily admitted on his name being mentioned by Gabriel. In every one he found myriads

of angels praising God; and in most of the heavens he found a division of the inmates of hell, undergoing various torments. In the second heaven he met Christ and John the Baptist; in the third Joseph and David. He also saw in it the sea, the overflow of which had caused the deluge. In the fourth heaven was Enoch, and the sphere which answers to the sun, which is one hundred times larger than the earth. In the fifth heaven he found Aaron; in the sixth Moses, who was so jealous, that he and his sect had been surpassed by Mo*h*ammad and his sect, that he shed tears. In the highest heaven he met Abraham.

In the sixth heaven he met an angel, who was larger in stature than the seven heavens, and one of whose eyeballs exceeded the earth in size. He was dressed in black, and held a club in his hand, which was so heavy, that all mankind, the dead and living together, would be unable to raise it from the ground. His expression was so stern and sour that even the meeting with the prophet of God could not make him smile. He was preceded by legions of angels, who were armed with clubs of fire. They praised God in the words, "Glory be to the Lord, who is revengeful against his enemies." The prophet was so frightened at his appearance that he could hardly stand on his legs. He asked Gabriel who he was? "This is Málik, the angel of hell, who is appointed by God to punish the enemies of thy religion." Let me see the fire of hell, said Mo*h*ammad. He removed the cover, and out burst the flames with such violence that there seemed to be danger that they would destroy heaven and earth; and the Messenger of God requested him to order them to draw back, and to close up the hole.

Mo*h*ammad continued his journey above the seventh heaven, and came to the sidrah of the limit.[1] In early traditions

(1.) In all traditions on the mi'ráj, except the one of Abú Sa'yd Khodry *apud*

this tree is described as having leaves as large as elephant's ears, and fruits like water pots: later accounts enter into more details. In one of the branches, which is thousands of miles long, is the habitation of Gabriel; in another branch myriads of angels are constantly employed in reading the Pentateuch; in another the gospel is read; in one the Psalms are sung by thousands of voices; and in one branch the Qorán is chanted. From under the tree four rivers spring forth—two, the Nile and Euphrates, flow to the earth; and two are rivers of paradise. One of these is the river of mercy, and the other feeds the pond Kawther, which God has created for Mo*h*ammad and his followers. Whilst I was loitering about in the gardens of paradise, said the prophet, I came all on a sudden to a river; on both banks are domes, each consisting of a hollow pearl. I asked Gabriel, What is this? he said, This is the Kawther, which God has given to

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Ibn Is*h*áq, Mo*h*ammad finds in the seventh heaven, or above it, the sidrah of the limit. The apparition at the sidrah is thus made synchronous with the nightly journey to Jerusalem, though the former took place at least eight years before the latter. Wáqidy, to remove this difficulty, speaks therefore of two nightly journeys—the first from Makkah to heaven, and the second from Makkah to Jerusalem; and there is nothing in the traditions of the *Mishkát* or *Taysyr* to oppose this opinion; but most Musalman authors are against it, and maintain that Mo*h*ammad proceeded from Jerusalem to heaven. The traditions, both from which it appears that the sidrah is in heaven, and those from which it appears that it is on earth, are so numerous and so authentic that it is clear that he taught at one time the one, and at another time the other doctrine. This is not a solitary instance in which Mo*h*ammad mystified verses of the Qorán, which had been revealed sometime back, and put another sense upon them than he had originally given to them. I conceive that the words in Súrah 53, "And there to the gardens of repose is the gate"—are a later addition, to justify the opinion that the sidrah is in heaven.

It is characteristic of the blind faith of the followers of Mo*h*ammad, that there exists the greatest difference on the number of his nightly journeys—(some authors say he made as many as four)—and on the date. Their surprise at the nightly journey to Jerusalem was so great, that they seem to have forced upon him new tales, without regard to consistency. This explains why we observe a tendency in the Mi'ráj to transfer events from earth to one of the seven heavens, and thence to the regions above them. What had happened, according to early traditions, at Jerusalem, is placed by later sayings of Mo*h*ammad in heaven. For example, it is stated in very good traditions, that he was thirsty and drank milk at Jerusalem; and it is stated in equally good traditions, that he drank it in the seventh heaven. His meeting with the prophets, and his remarks upon them, are nearly the same at Jerusalem and in the heavens, &c.

thee. Then I perceived that the ground was of pure musk, and of piercing fragrancy. The pond is square, and one months' journey in circumference, being as long as Arabia; the water is as white as milk and sweeter than honey, and he who drinks from it will never be thirsty againu.[1]

Mo*h*ammad visited next the Bayt alma'múr, the chief place of worship in paradise, which stands precisely above the Ka'-bah, so that, if it were to fall, it would exactly cover it. Near it is a tank filled with light, in which Gabriel bathes every morning; and when his light mingles with the light of the tank seventy thousand angels start into existence. They proceed to the temple; and as often as they ejaculate the words, Praise be to God! a new angel proceeds from every one of them. There is not a drop of water in the sea, nor a leaf on a tree, nor a span of space of the heavens, which is not guarded by an angel who praises God.[2] The conception of Mo*h*ammad, in extending the universe millions of miles beyond this earth, and in peopling it with creatures who praise God, is like an anticipation of the wonders revealed to us by the telescope.

Mo*h*ammad being thirsty, asked for something to drink; and there were three vessels brought to him: one contained wine, the other milk, and the third honey. He chose the milk; and Gabriel said, Milk is religion, and thou and thy sect will be on it.

According to some authors, Gabriel and the Boráq pro-

(1.) A tradition of Anas, one of 'Abd Allah b. 'Amir, and one of Abú Horayrah, and one of Thawbán. The former three are in Bokháry and Moslim, and the latter is in A*h*mad, in Ibn Májah, and in Tirmidzy.

(2.) Gabriel appears here as the highest demiurg, as in the system of Mo*h*ammadan philosophers, (see page 116, note); but though it is quite certain, that the seven heavens of *Mohammad* have their origin in the views of the astrologers, the traditions, on which this theory on the origin of the angels is based, are very weak: they are one of Abú Horayrah, one of Ibn Mardawayh, and one of Ibn Aby *Hátim* apud *Mawáhib alladonniyah*, and one of 'Atá, and Moqátil and Dha*hh*ak, who had it all three from Ibn Abbás; *ibidem*, and in the *Tafsyr Kabyr* of Fakhr aldyn Rázy. But that Mo*h*ammad took a very enlarged view of the universe, and peopled it with myriads of angels, is attested by many and very good traditions, and by many verses of the Qorán.

ceeded but a short distance beyond the regions of the sidrah, which is called the sidrah of the limit, because the knowledge of the angels does not go beyond it. After he had been left alone, he heard a voice saying, Approach! He made a step, and in this single step he passed through as much space as there is from the earth to the spot where he had been left alone. He was again called upon to approach, and in the step which he made he went through twice as much space as in the first. The voice was repeated one thousand times, and he made one thousand steps, and the length of each succeeding step was twice as great as the preceding. According to some authors he had seventy-seven, and according to others he had many hundred screens to pass, all of which were shut again as soon as he had passed them. When the last curtain had been raised he found himself two bows' distance from the throne of God. The Mo*h*ammadan authors do not presume to describe what he saw here; but they content themselves by repeating the words of the Qorán, "He saw the greatest of the signs of his Lord." There was a deep silence, and no noise was heard except that of the reed, by which the decrees of God are inscribed on the tablets of fate. God communicated to Mo*h*ammad the order for the faithful to pray fifty times a day, and he invested him with the habit of the Çúfy order; then he returned towards the earth. When he had come back to Moses, this prophet asked him, what commands he had received from God? He said, To pray fifty times a day. I know from experience, replied Moses, that the faithful will not be able to act up to this command; return to God, and pray that he may remit some of the devotional exercises. Mo*h*ammad followed his advice, and they were reduced to forty. When he came again to Moses, he advised him again to go to God, and to ask for a further reduction. The Lord again took off ten prayers; and the prophet continued to go

backwards and forwards between God and Moses, and to bargain for a further reduction, until the prayers were limited to five a day. How far the devotions even of the most pious fall short of what men ought to do!

Here ends the mi'ráj of Mohammad. Musalman authors discuss two points connected with it: first, whether his nightly journey was a mere vision, or whether he was bodily transfered to Jerusalem and to heaven? All historical records are for the latter opinion; the former is upheld by some sceptics only. The other disputed question is, whether he saw God face to face, and spoke with him, or not? We have numerous and authentic traditions for both opinions;[1] and it is clear that neither Mohammad nor his intimate friends believed that God could be seen by mortal eyes; but it is equally clear that in the progress of his career he gave way to the coarseness of the notions of the greater part of his followers, and said that he had seen God face to face; or at all events he acquiesced in their error. We must never forget, that when his religion was victorious he was surrounded by the most enthusiastic admirers, whose craving faith could be satiated only by the most extravagant stories. Their

(1.) From the traditions on the mi'ráj in the *Mishkát*, which are to be considered as the most authentic, it appears that Mohammad maintained that he had seen God, and spoken with him, during his transfiguration; though it is not stated in plain terms. "Abú Dzarr says, I asked the prophet whether he had seen God? He answered: Núron, inny aráho; i. e. I have seen him, in the shape of a light. But instead of inny, some read ánny. In this case the meaning is, He is a light; how could I see him? (light being the medium, and not an object of vision.") This tradition is in Moslim. "Ibn Abbás said, according to Tirmidzy, Mohammad has seen his Lord. 'Ikrimah remarked, Is it not said in the Qorán, 6, 103, that the eyes cannot perceive him? Ibn 'Abbás replied, This applies to seeing God when he manifests himself in his light; that is to say, the light which is his own light. But the prophet has seen God twice." Compare *Mishkát*, Eng. translation, II. page 630. It is not explained in this tradition how God showed himself to Mohammad. It is said in the Qorán, 75, 23, "Some countenances shall be light, (on the day of resurrection), and looking at their Lord." It is argued upon this, that Mohammad may have seen God during the transfiguration, in the same manner in which the saints in heaven see God, which, as he said, constitutes their greatest happiness, even greater than that derived from the society of the *Húries*.

heated imagination would invent them by itself; he only needed to give the key, and to nod assent, to augment the number of his miracles to the infinite. So convinced were his followers of his miraculous powers, that their wives and slaves every morning, when they fetched water for the daily consumption, took the supply to his house, that he might put his hands into it.

Besides the miracles recorded in the Qorân, the prophet encouraged his friends in ascribing events in his life, which had attracted their attention, to supernatural influence, as appears from his own words. "The prophet was one day requested to give an account of himself, and he said, Very well: I was called by Abraham, and predicted by Jesus the Son of Mary; and my mother saw, when she gave me birth, that a light proceeded from her, which illuminated the palaces of Syria. I was nursed among the banú Sa'd b. Bakr; and whilst I was with a foster-brother of mine behind the tents, tending some flocks of ours, there came two men dressed in white robes with a basin full of ice. They took me and slit open my body; then they took out my heart, which they slit equally open, and removed some congealed black blood from it, which they threw away; and they washed my inside and my heart in the snow. Then he (one of the angels) said, Weigh him against one hundred persons of his nation; they weighed me, and I was found heavier; then he said, Weigh him against one thousand; they weighed me, and I was found heavier; then he said, Leave him; if you weigh him against his whole nation he will be found heavier."[1]

These are the most prominent and celebrated miracles of the prophet of the Arabs, and the nucleus of a most extravagant legendary history, which was as much enriched by his enemies as by his sincere followers. When the conservatives of

(1.) Tradition of Khâlid b. Ma'adan in Wáqidy, fol. 28.

Makkah had at length succumbed to the arms of Mo*h*ammad, he forced his religion upon them, and they found it expedient to profess that they had been convinced by miracles, and not by the sword. One man, who arrived from a journey about the time of the conquest of Makkah by Mo*h*ammad, said that he had observed in the Tihámah that on the leaves of every tree these words were inscribed in characters of light: "Mo*h*ammad is the Messenger of God." Jobayr[1] relates that, during the time of the persecutions of Mo*h*ammad he happened to go to Syria. On passing a convent he was invited to stay there; and after he had received three days' hospitality the head of the establishment took him into the interior of the building, where there were many pictures, and asked whether any of them resembled the man who, he had been informed, claimed to be a prophet in Arabia; and he saw there not only a breathing likeness of Mo*h*ammad, but also of Abú Bakr.[2] Some of those who had taken flight in the battle of Badr now declared that they had been driven back by legions of angels, who assisted the faithful. Abú Sofyán, the arch foe of Mo*h*ammad, happened to be at Damascus when Heraclius received the prophet's letter, in which he called upon him to embrace the Islám. The Emperor, startled by its contents, inquired whether there was a man to be found who could give him some further information respecting the person, who considered himself the Messenger of God. Abú Sofyán and several other Qorayshites were introduced into his presence, and he put to

(1.) Jobayr b. Mot'im b. 'Adyy b. Nawfal b. Abd Manáf embraced the Islám before the conquest of Makkah. He was well versed in the genealogy of the Qorayshites, and died in A. H. 54, or 57. A similar story is related by Abyáry of *H*akym b. *H*izám, who did not embrace the Islam before the conquest of Makkah. He was a cousin of the first wife of Mo*h*ammad, the proprietor of the town hall, and a very rich man and one of the chiefs of Makkah. He died in A. H. 54. To him the Emperor showed the picture of Mo*h*ammad.

(2.) Jámy, *Shawáhid alnobúwat*, Chap. 1. Jámy does not explain how the convent had obtained their portraits. Nowayry, MS. of Leyden, p. 890, informs us very seriously that the ark of the covenant not only contained the portrait and a description of Mo*h*ammad b[illegible] of the first four Khalifs.

them through an interpreter the following questions: *Q.* Is he of a good family? *A.* Yes, he is of one of our best families. *Q.* Has any one of his ancestors been a king? *A.* No. *Q.* Was he reputed to be a liar before he proclaimed himself a prophet? *A.* No. On the contrary he was known under the name of Amyn, the trust-worthy, on account of his veracity.[1] *Q.* Who are his followers, the rich or the poor? *A.* The poor. *Q.* Does his flock increase or decrease? *A.* It is on the increase. *Q.* Are there many who, after having embraced his faith, leave it again? *A.* There are none. *Q.* Do you fight with him? *A.* Yes, we do. *Q.* And what is the result of your battles? *A.* Not always the same; sometimes

(1.) The Mo*h*ammadans felt how necessary it was to prove that the veracity of their prophet was acknowledged even by his enemies. The Qádhy 'Iyádh, *Shifá*, Chap. 2, adduces the following testimonies, which are probably all he could collect: 1. Ibn Is*h*aq says, that he was called Amyn, the trust-worthy, on account of his blameless character. And when the Qorayshites differed as to who should put the black stone into its place, (see page 84), they agreed to leave the decision to the person who might first enter the Ka'bah; it happened to be Mo*h*ammad; and they said, We will abide by his arbitration, for he is the Amyn. This testimony loses much of its weight by being substantiated by the only instance, in which, owing to a chance, Mo*h*ammad occupied a conspicuous position before his mission.—2. Al-Raby' b. Khothaym says that Mo*h*ammad used to be chosen as arbitrator before he assumed his office. This is one of the traditions called a*h*ád, single, or unsupported in the historical criticism of the Musulmans. Were the assertion true, we should have a score of testimonies. The most insignificant facts, which reflect honorably upon the prophet, such as that he was permitted when a boy to sit upon the carpet spread for his grand-father, are mentioned by a host of authors, and raised into signs of his mission —3. Abú Jahl said to Mo*h*ammad, "We do not consider thee as a liar, but we consider what thou preachest as a lie;" and on this occasion the verse of the Qorán, 6. 33, was revealed, "Thou art grieved by what they said. However, they do not call thee a liar;—but the unjust deny the signs of God." It is clear that Mo*h*ammad means to say, They do not give the lie to me, but to God; and therefore this testimony must fall to the ground with its peg.—4. It is said that Abú Jahl bore witness to the veracity of Mo*h*ammad in a private conversation with al-Akhnas b. Shorayq at Badr.—5. The testimony of Abú Sofyán before Heraclius, mentioned in the text, is adduced.—6. Al-Nadhr b. al-*H*árith said to the Qorayshites, When Mo*h*ammad was a young man no one was a greater favorite with you than he, nor was any one more truth-loving in what he said, nor more trust-worthy; and now, since the hair of his temples has turned grey, he preaches to you what he preaches, and you say he is a juggler; but, by God, he is not a juggler. It is impossible to reconcile this testimony with the relation in which Mo*h*ammad stood to al-Nadhr b. al-*H*árith, and which will be explained below. Most statements of Mo*h*ammadan authors, in praise of their prophet, produce, if sifted, the contrary impression upon an impartial reader from the one which they are intended to produce.

he is victorious, and at other times we. *Q.* Is he treacherous? *A.* I am not aware that he ever behaved treacherously. *Q.* Has ever any one before him preached the doctrine which he teaches? *A.* No, nobody. *Q.* And what does he preach? *A.* He orders his followers to pray, to fast, to be kind to relatives, and to abstain from all that is sinful or impure. This account satisfied the Emperor that he was a Messenger of God; for he not only resembled in every respect the prophets, but, as none of his ancestors had been a king, it was clear that he was not actuated by the ambition of regaining his father's dominion; and as his followers remained all staunch the Emperor was convinced that they were animated by true faith, and not merely by fanaticism.[1]

The converts from the Jewish and Christian religions amused the faithful with endless fables. A Copt related that one day he was reading the Bible, and finding that two eaves were glued together he separated them, and found a prophecy regarding the prophet of the Gentiles, containing a detailed description of him, and an account of the time and place where he would appear. His father severely punished him for his curiosity; but he added that it lead to his salvation; for he went forthwith in search of the new faith.[2] Most of the biblical legends, and many of those fables in the history of the Arabs which refer to Mo*h*ammad, are traced to Wahb Ibn Monabbih[3] or Ka'b,[4] a converted Jew. Some

(1.) *Mishkát*, II. p. 688.

(2.) Wáqidy.—Jámy, *Shawáhid alnab.*, Ch. 1, relates a similar story of Wahb b. Monabbih, a converted Jew: "When my father taught me the Scripture he withheld one volume from me, and kept it locked up in a box. After his death I took out the book, and found written in it that a prophet would appear who would be born at Makkah, and take flight to Madynah, and his followers would on all occasions praise God, and be raised above all other nations on the day of judgment.

(3.) Wahb b. Monabbih b. Kámil b. Sayj, of Persian origin, was of Dzimár, a place in Yaman two days journey from Çan'á, and died A. H. 114 or 110.—Nawawy, *Tahdzyb alasmá*, p. 619.

(4.) Ka'b al*h*ibr, or, the Rabbin, was a native of Yaman, and of the *H*imyarite tribe. He embraced the islám under Abú Bakr or 'Omar, and was much in the society of the latter; and he died under 'Othmán. Nawawy, p. 523. According

legends have been invented by Ibn Sawdá, equally a converted Jew, who flourished under 'Othmán. The latter of these three fathers of the Mo*h*ammadan church found it so profitable to embrace the Islám, that he went four times through the ceremony of initiation—once in the Hijáz, then at Baçrah, then at Kúfah, and then at Damascus.[1]

The sale of relics added equally to the number of miracles. Boghá, the commander of the Pretorian guard of the Khalif Mota'çim, bought a sword for two hundred dinars, of which the following story was related. At the battle of O*h*ad 'Abd Allah b. Ja*h*sh broke his sword. The prophet gave him the dry branch of a palm tree, and it instantly turned into a sword.[2] It is well known that the trade of relics was carried to a great extent in Europe during the crusades. As one of the objects of curiosity at Venice, the stool of St. Peter is shown us to this day. I examined it, and found it to be a Mo*h*ammadan tomb stone with an Arabic inscription.

Having explained the origin of the miracles of Mo*h*ammad I will briefly relate the legendary history of the period comprized in the preceding chapter.

Qotaylah, a sister of Waraqah, or, according to others, Fá*t*imah, a woman of the Khath'am tribe, who had read the Scriptures, observing the prophetic light between the eyes of the father of Mo*h*ammad, did all she could to gain his affections even after his marriage with Áminah. On one occasion he passed her house, and she requested him to step in. He refused, but after some time he returned and shewed himself ready to comply with her wishes. His advances were now refused; for Áminah was in the way of becoming the mother

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to Nowayry, MS. of Leyden, p. 834, he was still alive under Mo'áwyyah, and was called to his court.

(1.) Nowayry, MS. of Leyden, p. 1056. The full name of Ibn Sawdá was 'Abd Allah b. Sabá.

(2.) *Mawáhib allad.* in the account of the battle of O*h*ad.

of the prophet, and the light had disappeared from his forehead.[1] The marriage of the parents of Mo*h*ammad was celebrated in heaven with joy and solemnity; and the angel Gabriel descended upon the Ka'bah, and made known to the world that the last and greatest of the prophets would be born. The whole animated creation on land and sea rejoiced at these tidings. A copious rain embellished the country with verdure, which had suffered four years previous from drought and famine. The evil spirits were sunk to the bottom of the sea, and complained on mount Abú Qobays near Makkah that idolatry, drinking wine, and other abominations of paganism would be at an end; one of the assembly, however, consoled them that the Arabs would soon degenerate.[2]

When Áminah was pregnant she did not feel the slightest inconvenience; indeed she would not have been aware of her interesting condition if she had not been told in a vision that she would give birth to the lord and prophet of his nation. In another vision she was ordered to call the child which she would bring forth AHMAD.[3]

The prophet was born clean,[4] his navel was cut and tied, and he was circumcised;[5] with him a light issued from the womb of Áminah, which illumated the whole world, and she saw the camels at Baçrá, Bostra in Syria,[6] raising their heads

(1.) Traditions of 'Orwah, of Jobayr b. Mo*t*'im, of Ibn 'Abbas, of Hishám Kalby from Abú Fayyádh Khath'amy and Abú Yazyd of Madynah,—(all apud Wáq. c. 20). The story is also mentioned by other writers. The authorities are so strong that it is likely that some scandal has been converted into a miracle. —Jámy, *Shawáhid*, and other modern authors, by the way of exaggeration, say that she offered to 'Abd Allah one hundred camels.

(2.) *Rawdhat alahbáb.*

(3.) Several traditions in Wáqidy. It is also mentioned by Ibn Is*h*áq and Abú *H*átim. The latter says that Áminah dreamt that she was to give to her child the name of Mo*h*ammad. The prophet liked to be called A*h*mad, because this name was said to be in the Gospel; but it was no more his name than that of a man called Theodat is Khodábakhsh.

(4.) A tradition of Is*h*áq b. 'Abd Allah in Wáq.

(5.) A tradition of 'Abbás apud Wáq. and Abúlfedá.

(6.) A somewhat different version of this tradition, on the authority of Shaddád b. Aws, is in the Rawdhah of Mo*h*ammad b. A*h*mad b. Amyr, who compiled

to heaven to thank God. Mo*h*ammad immediately after his birth placed himself in a praying position and raised his eyes to the sky.[1] Heaven and earth were in agitation at this great event. The stars inclined towards the earth and came almost down on the head of Áminah to do homage to the prophet.[2] The palace of the Kisrá trembled, and twenty-four of its turrets felt to the ground; and the sacred fire of the Magi, which had burned for a thousand years, was extinguished.[3]

The original of *H*alymah's narrative of her adventures on her journey to Makkah, in an old tradition,[4] equals in naïvetè and elegance any pastoral poem of the Greeks. "There was a drought in our country, and we were in great distress. I left our home with my husband and my infant son, in company of other nurses of our tribe, to go to Makkah, and to find a foster-child. I rode on a white donkey. We had a she-camel, but she gave no milk. My child cried the whole night for hunger, and kept us restless; for my breasts were dry, and so was the camel. Every prospect of again enjoying blessing and joy had disappeared. I proceeded very slowly, to the annoyance of my fellow travellers; for the donkey which I was riding was miserably thin. At length, however, we arrived at Makkah. We looked out for foster-children; and there was not a woman among us to whom the infant prophet was not offered. They refused to

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the book about A. H. 718. There this passage runs : "And my mother saw in a dream that what was in her womb proceeded in the form of a light; and she said, I followed the light with my sight (baçry), and it remained before my sight (baçry) until it illuminated the east and the west for me." The author seeing the absurdity that the light should have illuminated Baçrá, read baçry, my sight, instead, and clumsily changed the sentence. There is no doubt that Baçrá is the right reading. We have a dozen of original versions of this tradition, and in all the reading is Baçrá.

(1.) Various traditions in Wáqidy. Jámy adds that he pronounced distinctly the words "there is no God but the God."

(2.) *Rawdhat ala*h*báb*, where a tradition of 'Othmán b. Abú-l-'Aç is quoted.

(3.) A tradition from Bayhaqy, apud Abúlfedá.

(4.) It is related nearly in the same words by Ibn Is*h*áq and Wáqidy, though they both quote different authorities.

take him, saying, Oh, he is an orphan. We expected to be handsomely rewarded by the fathers of the children, and were in the habit of saying: Oh, an orphan! it is not likely that his mother or grand-father will pay handsomely. For this reason we refused to take charge of him. All the women found wards except myself; and when we were ready to start for our home, I said to my husband, I do not like to return among my friends without a foster-child. Shall I take that orphan? He replied, There is no harm. Perhaps God will bless us. And so I took him. I should certainly not have accepted him had I found another child. I returned to our encampment, and gave him my breast. He drank; and after he had been stilled there was milk enough left for my own child, and we could now sleep at night. My husband went to the she-camel, and found her udders full, and she gave as much milk as we could drink, and we spent a happy night. Our companions said, *H*alymah has found a blessed child. The next day we started; I mounted my donkey with the prophet in my arms, and he went on with such speed that the others could not keep up with me, though they were much better mounted. They said to me, O daughter of Abú Dzowayb, do not race in this style; is this not the donkey which thou wast riding when thou leftest home? I replied, Certainly; it is the very same. They observed, This is a splendid animal. On our arrival in our country, which is the driest place on the face of the earth, we found in the evening, when the sheep and goats came home, that they had plenty of milk, whilst the flocks of other people were perfectly dry. They said to their shepherds, Drive them on the same pasture on which *H*alymah's goats graze. This, however, was of no use; they remained thin and dry. God was with us, and we enjoyed in every thing his blessing. When the prophet was two years of age he was a very fine boy, and I weaned him,

and went with him to his mother; but having enjoyed so much blessing through him we were exceedingly anxious that he should stay with us; and we said to Áminah, Leave him with us until he is older; I am afraid the pestilential air of Makkah will hurt him. His mother consented, and he returned into the desert." On her way back from Makkah *H*alymah met some christians of Abyssinia, who at once recognized him to be the prophet; and they said, Give this boy to us, and we will take him to our king. She refused to give him up; and being afraid that they might eventually take him away by force, she soon after returned him to his mother.

The remainder of the legendary history of the early life of Mo*h*ammad is entirely occupied with an account of inspired or learned men, who recognized in him the prophet. The Christians, Jews, Astrologers and Soothsayers have each their representatives among them. The most celebrated Christians who did homage to the Messenger of God, long before he assumed his office, are Sergius and Nestor. The former was a monk or hermit. His cell was in a village six stages from Bostra. He was celebrated for his learning and piety, and the village in which he lived was usually called the dayr, hermitage, of Ba*h*yrá, though its proper name was Kafr.. Being acquainted with the description and predictions of prophets, he knew that the time was come when the prophet of the Arabs would pass by that road on his way to Bostra; and he had been looking out for him for many years. He did not leave his hermitage; but merely watched, as often as a Qorayshite caravan passed by, whether it was accompanied by those signs which betoken prophets. At length he observed the heavenly cloud hovering over an approaching Qorayshite caravan, and steadily accompanying it; and he suspected that he was in it. His suspisions became certainty as the caravan drew near; for every stone and tree

exclaimed, Hail to thee; O Messenger of God! The Qorayshites encamped just under his hermitage, and Abú *T*álib, whom Mo*h*ammad accompanied, pitched under a tree, which was partly withered. The cloud stood over it, and it became instantly green. The hermit now ordered his disciples to prepare a repast for the Qorayshites, and in inviting them he requested particularly that none might absent himself from it. They were somewhat surprized at his invitation, as he had never on any former occasion spoken with them, but they accepted it. When his guests had assembled, Ba*h*yrá said, Some one of you is absent. They replied, Yes; a boy of Abú *T*álib's has been left in the camp, in charge of the goods. Ba*h*yrà told them that it was just that boy whom he wanted to see. They sent for Mo*h*ammad, and he came shaded by the cloud. After the repast, the hermit said to Abú *T*álib, I have a few words to speak with thee. The other Qorayshites with drew, and Abú *T*álib remained sitting with Ba*h*yrá; and he said, Is this thy son? the Arab answered, Yes. This is impossible, observed Ba*h*yrá, for he must needs be an orphan. Abú *T*álib now allowed that he was his nephew; and the hermit recommended him to take great care of him, and to watch him, particularly against the designs of the Jews. They knew that a prophet would arise among the Arabs at this time, and would recognize him; and as all the prophets had hitherto been of their nation, they would be anxious to put him to death out of jealousy. Bostra, he declared, would be a very dangerous place; and he prevailed on Abú *T*álib to send him back to Makkah.

Another Simeon of the Islám was the monk (or hermit) Nestor, who met the prophet when he came the second time to Syria. He undertook this journey for Khadyjah; but it would appear from the Rawdhat ala*h*báb that Khozaymah b. *H*akym, a relation of hers, was in charge of her goods, and

that the prophet was merely his assistant. Nestor recognized Mo*h*ammad by his reposing at Bostra under a tree, under which only prophets were in the habit of sitting. In order, however, to be quite certain that he was a prophet, he approached him and said, I conjure thee by al-Lát and al-'Ozzá, (two idols at Makkah), tell me thy name! Mo*h*ammad replied, Begone! there is no expression in Arabic which I dislike more than the one thou hast made use of.[1] The hermit, being now certain that he was the messenger of God, opened a book which he had in his hand, and read a prophecy in which he was described, and in which his history was predicted to Khozaymah and his companions.

This journey is celebrated for several other miracles. He restored to two worn-out camels their vigour, by putting his hands on their legs; and he was all the way shaded by two angels, who in the shape of birds hovered over his head. Khadyjah, who was sitting in a balcony when he returned to Makkah, witnessed this miracle; and we are seriously told that God wrought it with a view of inflaming the heart of the old lady.

" High praises, endless honours you have won,
" And mighty trophies, with your worthy son!
" Two gods a silly woman have undone."[2]

The Christians are represented, in the history of the early career of the prophet, as encouraging, and I might say, patronizing the new religion. The Jews appear in a much less amiable light. Actuated by jealousy, the chosen nation attempted, on several occasions, by assassination, to rid themselves of a competitor of their prophets.

(1.) According to Wáqidy Mo*h*ammad had a dispute with a merchant, and being requested to swear by al-Lát and al-'Ozzá, he said that he would rather give up his claims than swear by idols. According to this authority Nestor recognized him by observing a certain redness in his eyes, which he knew was peculiar to the last of prophets.

(2.) Pope's Virgil, *Æn.* 4, 92.

In the sacred books of the Jews Mo*h*ammad was so distinctly described that they knew him as well as their own children.[1] The time and place of his birth were predicted in clear terms; the name of his family was mentioned; and it was said that he would take refuge in Madynah.[2] Ibn al-Hayyabán,[3] a Jew of Syria, who was remarkable for his punctuality in saying the five daily prayers, came several years before the Islám to Madynah, and settled there. Whenever the country suffered of drought the people came to him, and asked him to pray for rain. His answer was, I cannot comply with your wishes before you have given alms. Every body was obliged to give a certain quantity of dates and grain. When they had done so, he proceeded with them to an eminence near the town, and they had hardly arrived there when the clouds were seen gathering, and the rain descended. Ibn Hayyabán said, on his death bed, "The reason why I left my home, which is a country of plenty, and took up my abode in this desert, was that I knew that the prophet, whose time is coming, will emigrate to this city; and I was in hopes that I would live to see him. In this case I should have been one of his followers. If you hear that he is coming, do not attempt to cope with him; for he sheds the blood of his adversaries, and reduces their wives and children to slavery.

(1.) *Qorán* 2, 141; and 6, 20.

(2.) This assertion of Musalman authors is not even fully borne out by the prophecies which they invented, as will appear from these specimens: "The prophet said, There is written in the Pentateuch, My servant A*h*mad the elect. His birth place is Makkah, and the place to which he will make his hijrah is Madynah; or, according to one version, al-*T*ayybah, (which is another name for Madynah); and his followers will praise God under every circumstance." A tradition in the *Shifá* of 'Iyádh. The following two prophecies are from Wáqidy. "Mo*h*ammad b. Ka'b Qoratzy, (the son of a converted Jew), says, God revealed to Jacob, I will raise from among thy descendants kings and prophets until the *H*aramite prophet (alnabyy al*h*aramy) shall restore the temple of Jerusalem. He is the seal (last) of the prophets, and his name is A*h*mad." God said to Abraham, according to Sha'by, Thy children will increase into tribes and tribes, until the gentile (ummy) prophet shall be born, who is the seal of the prophets." Prophecies like these appear to have been made use of in propagating the islám. Later authors apply prophecies, referring to Christ, to Mo*h*ammad.

(3.) This name is also spelt Ibn al-Hiyyabán and Ibn al-Hayyibán.

Nothing can save you except submission; for he is greater and prior to your prophets."[1] Having thus spoken the patriarch died. The night before the Jewish tribe called Qoraytzah was overpowered by Mo*h*ammad, Tha'labah and Osayd, two sons of Sa'yah (i. e. Isaiah), and Asad b. 'Obayd said to their tribe,[2] this is the man whom Ibn al-Hayyabán predicted: fear God and follow him. The Jews protested, he is not the man; but these three men insisted that he was the same; and they surrendered to the prophet and embraced his faith, whilst the other Jews persevered in their obstinacy.

When the Jews had heard that 'Abd Allah, of whom they knew that he would be the father of the prophet of the Gentiles, was born, seventy of their rabbins conspired to put him to death, and went to Makkah and waited for an opportunity to carry their plans into execution. One day their intended victim was alone in a valley at a great distance from the city. The Jews surrounded him; but Wahb had obtained information of his danger, and was on the point of hastening with some young men of Makkah to his assistance, when he observed that a legion of angels descended from heaven, rescued 'Abd Allah, and dispatched his enemies. This miracle induced Wahb to offer the hand of his daughter Áminah to 'Abd Allah, and she became by him the mother of the prophet.[3]

Shooting stars were exceedingly frequent about the time when Mo*h*ammad assumed his office; and this phenomenon continues to be observed ever since; yet it was unknown before his time.[4] The first Arab tribe who saw this new pheno-

(1.) I follow the version of Wáqidy. That of Ibn Is*h*áq, which is also in the *'Oyún alathr*, differs from it in this sentence.

(2.) They were of the Hadzal tribe, which was closely connected with the Qoraytzah. These three men were the chiefs of their tribe in the Islám. The whole story is probably a mere justification of the treachery of these three men.

(3.) Jámy, *Shawáhid alnabúwat*, i. e. *Testimonies for the prophetic mission.*

(4.) Mo*h*ammad himself allowed that shooting stars had been observed before him, but he gave the explanation to this phenomenon which the Jews gave to it.

menon were the Thaqyfites, who inhabited *Táyif.* They went to 'Amr b. Omayyah,[1] one of the most shrewd men in Arabia, and they said, Hast thou not noticed this new phenomenon in heaven? what is its meaning? He answered, observe what stars are falling. If those fall by which men are guided in their voyages and travels through deserts, and those by which we mark the mansions of the moon in summer and winter, the end of the world is near, and this creation will cease to exist; but if other stars fall, it indicates that God has decreed something else, and that he will raise up a prophet among the Arabs.[2] It has been observed above, page 109, that shooting stars are flaming darts, which are thrown at the Jinn, who presume to pry into the secrets of heaven.

Idols, calves and other victims destined to be sacrificed, spoke on many occasions, and bore witness to the mission of the prophet, either complaining that their time was over, or calling on their votaries to destroy him. Astrologers and Káhins, or seers, as long as the jinn by whom they were beset had access to the gates of heaven, knew that a prophet would arise in Arabia, and predicted several circumstances connected with him. When *H*alymah, the nurse, took charge of Mo*h*ammad, his mother requested her to consult some seer respecting his destiny. *H*alymah visited for this purpose the fair of 'Okátz, to show the child to a celebrated káhin of the Hodzayl tribe, who used to predict the fate of children. The moment he saw the child he exclaimed, O Hodzaylites! O

We must, however, not suppose that the Musalmans have never attempted to find the natural causes of this phenomenon. Abhary, whose work is a school book in all Mo*h*ammadan countries, says, (Edit. Lucknow, A. H. 1262, p. 100,) "If vapours rise to the regions of fire, and if they are thin, they are set on fire, and converted into a burning mass; but they burn with such rapidity that only their extinction is seen." *Túsy*, in his commentary on Avicenna's Ishárát *apud* Maybodzy, says that "first the upper part of the vapour is ignited, whence the fire extends to the other extremity. We therefore observe that the ignition runs in the direction of the vapour."

(1.) According to one tradition in Abú Dáwúd, to 'Abd Yályl b. 'Amr.

(2.) Wáqidy and *'Oyún alathr*. The last sentence is only in Wáqidy.

Arabs! Many persons assembled around him, and he continued: Kill this child! Luckily *H*alymah snatched it away, and returned as fast as she could to her home. The seer explained to the assembled multitude:—I swear by all the gods, this child will kill those who belong to your faith; he will destroy your gods, and he will be victorious over you.[1] The Jonob tribe had a seer, who used to live in solitude on the summit of a mountain. When they had heard that a prophet had arisen at Makkah, they consulted their seer regarding him. One morning at sunrise, when the whole tribe was assembled at the foot of the mountain, the seer descended, and leaning on a bow he raised his head to heaven, and remained for a long time motionless; at length he said, "God has distinguished Mo*h*ammad, and he has elected him, and he has cleansed his heart, and he has inspired him. He will stay but a short time with you." Having said so the seer returned to the heights of the mountain.

Mo*h*ammad was perfect in body and mind. He was descended from Abraham, and claimed relationship to all the prophets. The Arabs are the best of nations, the Qorayshites the noblest among all Arabic tribes, and his was the most distinguished among the Qorayshite families.[2] The mothers of his ancestors were the daughters of the founders of Arabic tribes, or of other distinguished men; and there was not a tribe in Arabia

(1.) This is from Wáqidy. Ibn Is*h*áq relates a story, which is probably only a different version of this. According to him an astrologer of the Lihb, one of the Azd tribes, which, (according to Abú 'Obaydah *apud* Qalqashandy), was celebrated for its astrologers, used to come to Makkah, and people brought their children to him, that he might make out their horoscope. When Mo*h*ammad was shown to him he recognized in him the prophet, and wished to kill him.

(2.) A well known tradition of 'Abbás, found in every biography of Mo*h*ammad. Tirmidzy has the following tradition of Wáthilah b. al-Asqa'. "The prophet said, God has selected Ishmael from among the children of Abraham, and he has selected the banú Kinánah from among the Ishmaelites; and he has selected the Qorayshites from among the banú Kinánah; and he has selected the Háshimites from among the Qorayshites; and he has selected me from among the Háshimites."

to whose chiefs he was not related.[1] Ibn Kalby collected an account of five hundred mothers, and mothers of mothers, of the prophet; and he found that none of them was guilty of a false step or of any of the outrages, which were considered lawful among the pagan Arabs.

He was of surpassing beauty, and endowed with many peculiarities, which no prophet possessed before him. Between his two shoulders the seal of his office was impressed; and he had a peculiar redness in his eyes, which betokened the prophet, and by which those who had read the Scriptures recognized him at once. His sight was so sharp that he could see eleven stars in the Pleiades;[2] moreover he could see in the darkest night, and what passed behind his back. His hearing was equally acute. The exhalations of his body, and particularly of his perspiration, were more fragrant than any perfume;[3] and he threw no shadow on the ground, neither in the sun nor in moonshine. During his sleep he was aware of what was passing, and his dreams were revelations. His sleep, and the swoons to which he was subject, were very different from those of any other man.[4] The description of his intellectual

(1.) The Qádhy 'Iyádh says, in reference to the words of the Qorán, 9, 129, "A noble prophet has come to you from among yourselves," that there was no Arabic tribe to which Mo*h*ammad was not related, and to which had not belonged some one of his grandmothers.' The genealogies of Mo*h*ammad are constructed on this principle: The mothers of his earliest ancestors are the daughters of the supposed founders of the various Arabic tribes.

(2.) 'Iyádh in the *Shifá*. "You must have the eye of the prophet to discern so minute and distant an object," is a proverbial expression. See Ibn Qotaybah, *Adáb alkottáb*.

(3.) If the prophet put his hand on the head of a child, one could recognize it by the exquisite perfume, which his hand had imparted to it. One day the prophet was sleeping in the house of Anas, and he was perspiring. The mother of Anas collected the drops of perspiration; and when the prophet asked her why she did so, she said, We put this into our smelling bottles, for it is the most refreshing perfume. Bokháry says in his history, you could recognize the street through which the prophet had passed, by the perfume which he left behind. 'Iyádh, *Shifá*. Nonnulli tradunt, cum propheta cacaret aut mingeret, terram patuisse, ut fœces et urinam excipiat; et odorem jucundum exhallasse. 'Iyádh, *in libro Shifá*.

(4.) "According to Abú *H*ámid it is inconsistent with the office of a prophet that he should be subject to fits of madness (jonún), or to swoons (aghmá) of

and moral qualities is less amusing. Musalman historians, in matters connected with their religion, are sometimes guided by reasoning *a priori*. Thus they say, Liberality, mildness, generosity,[1] perseverance, bravery, &c. are virtues; *ergo*, the prophet possessed these qualities. I content myself with mentioning one of his virtues:

The reader will be somewhat startled to hear, that the Mussalmans vaunt the chastity of their Prophet. They say that he was only twice tempted to deviate from the path of virtue, and both times he was saved by the interposition of Providence. When he was tending the sheep he requested one of his companions to take care of his flocks, and went into the city to amuse himself like other young men. At the first houses of Makkah the music of a nuptial feast attracted him, and whilst listening to it he fell asleep without carrying his intentions into effect; and he did not awake before the following morning.[2] His followers draw a parallel in this respect between him and our Saviour. I will not disfigure these pages by a blasphemy so gross as such a comparison must appear even to a Mo*h*ammadan who has read the Gospel. The faithful observe that abstinence in itself is no virtue, unless it has an object; and this object can only be, that the mind may remain wholly occupied with God. In the case of Mo*h*ammad sensuality did not interfere with his piety; on the contrary, in measure as he increased the number of his wives, he became more devoted. Therefore the amorous disposition of the messenger of God is consider-

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long duration. Balqyny, in his glosses to the *Rawdhah*, differs from him. Sobky thinks that the swoons of the prophets differ as much from those of other persons as their sleep." Soyú*t*y, *Anmúzaj allabyb fy Khaçáyiç al*h*abyb.*

(1.) 'Iyádh relates an amusing instance of generosity in the prophet. "When at the battle of O*h*ad a canine tooth of the prophet had been broken, and when he had been wounded in the face, his friends were much grieved, and advised him to curse his enemies; but he answered, I have not been sent to curse, but to preach. I am the prophet of mercy. O God, guide my people; for they are in ignorance."

(2.) *T*abary, Arabic text, p. 62. See also 'Iyadh, *Shifá.*

ed as a virtue by most of his followers; and by Imám Çádiq it is raised into a sign of his prophetic office.[1]

The revelations were communicated to the prophet in various ways:—1. In dreams; 2. Gabriel inspired him without appearing to him;[2] 3. Gabriel appeared to him in human form, mostly resembling a man of the name of Do*h*yah (or Di*h*yah) Kalby, and he conversed with him; 4. Gabriel appeared to him in his angelic form; 5. He saw God himself, as in the mi'ráj; 6. He heard a tinkling, or an indistinct sound. If he received the revelations in this manner, he was always under great excitement, and he became so heavy that on one occasion he nearly weighed down a camel on which he was riding; it foamed at the mouth, its eyes started out from its head, and its legs were bent.[3]

(1.) Eximiam ejus coeundi facultatem omnes laudant. Anas perhibet prophetam unius horæ spatio quandoquidem omnes suas uxores compressisse, quarum habebat undecim. Ab eodem, et ab Abú Ráfi' traditur, *apud* Nasáy, propheta triginta virorum coeundi facultate præditus fuisse. Táwus vero et Çafwán b. Solaym asserunt ei quadriginta virorum potestatem fuisse. Salmá ejus libertus tradit, Cum prophetæ novem uxores essent, cuilibet una nocte concubuisse et qualibet vice semet lavasse.

(2) *Qorán*, 26, 193 and 194.

(3.) *Rawdhat alahb'áb*. A very critical enquiry on the manner in which the revelations descended upon Mo*h*ammad is in the *Mawáhib allad.*, but it is too long for insertion.

SECOND CHAPTER.

Mohammadanism existed before Mohammad; account of the first converts; persecution; first emigration to Abyssinia; the prophet allows that what he had published as a revelation had been prompted to him by the devil; second emigration to Abyssinia; fruitless attempts to spread the Islám at Makkah and among the pilgrims; the inhabitants of Yathrib (Madynah) invite the prophet to take refuge in their city, and promise to protect him.

It has been asserted, in page 44, that the prophet of the Arabs, in founding a new religion, did nothing more than gather the floating elements, which had been imported or originated by others. The doctrine which he preached was not of his own invention; it had been begotten by the spirit of the time. It is so important to clear mankind from the libel, that an enthusiast or impostor should have succeeded in misleading a large proportion of the population of the globe, and in imposing laws upon it, which have lasted more than a thousand years; that, before proceeding with his history, I insert the scanty information, which I have been able to cull from early authors, on his first converts, with a view of throwing light on the origin of the Islám. It will be shown by facts, that it existed, in its main features, before him; and we have to this effect the distinct testimony of early authors. Wáqidy, fol. 38, says, on the authority of Mohammad (Zohry?), "The most intelligent among that class of men, who preached the name of God, and who led a pious life, and declared that they were *Musalmans*, were of opinion that he (Mohammad) was a messenger of God."[1] And Nawawy,

(1.) اخبرنا هوذة ابن خليفة نا عوف عن محمد و من احسن قولا ممن
دعا الى الله و عمل صالحا و قال انني من المسلمين قال هو رسول الله

Biogr. Dict. p. 177, says of Bilál, that he had embraced the Islám *before* Mo*h*ammad received a revelation; and that he was one of the first of those men who publicly professed their Islám.

The chronology of the first conversions of Mo*h*ammad is extremely obscure. Ibn Is*h*áq gives us a list of fifty-three persons,[1] who embraced the new religion before the prophet publicly proclaimed his mission, which he did in the fourth year after the first revelation; but in this list occurs the name of *'Á*yishah, who was born about that time. We must therefore use it with caution. There are, however, some points on which all authorities agree; and these must form the basis of our inquiry. They all state that the family circle of Mo*h*ammad, comprising his wife Khadyjah, his cousin 'Alyy,[2] and his adoptive son Zayd b. *H*árithah, were the first to ac-

(1.) These persons are : 1. Khadyjah ; 2. 'Alyy ; 3. Zayd b. *H*árithah ; 4. Abú Bakr ; 5. 'Othmán b. 'Affán ; 6. al-Zobayr b. al-'Awwám ; 7. 'Abd al-Ra*h*mán b. 'Awf ; 8. Sa'd b. Aby Waqqáç ; 9. *T*al*h*ah b. 'Obayd Allah ; 10. Abú 'Obaydah b. al-Jarrá*h* ; 11. Abú Salamah Makhzúmy ; 12. 'Othmán b. Ma'tzún ; 13. His brother Qodámah—[Abú *H*átim says, *His two brothers Qodámah and 'Abd Allah ;*]—14. al-Arqam, a Makhzúmite ; 15. 'Obaydah b. al-*H*árith b. 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib b. 'Abd Manáf ; 16 Sa'yd b. Zayd ; 17. His wife Fá*t*imah, a sister of 'Omar b. al-Kha*tt*áb ; 18. Asmá, a daughter of Abú Bakr ; 19. Her sister *'Á*yishah—[Abú *H*átim omits the name of *'Á*yishah ;]—20. Khabbáb b. al-Aratt ; 21. 'Omayr b. Aby Waqqáç, a brother of Sa'd mentioned in No. 8 ; 22. 'Abd Allah b. Mas'úd ; 23. Mas'úd b. Qáry ; 24. Solay*t* b. 'Amr, of the banú *'Á*mir b. Lo'wayy ; 25. 'Ayyásh ; 26. His wife Asmá ; 27. Khonays—[Abú *H*átim omits this name ;]—28. *'Á*mir b. Raby'ah ; 29. 'Abd Allah b. Ja*h*sh ; 30. His brother Abú A*h*mad ; 31. Ja'far b. Aby *T*álib ; 32. His wife Asmá ; 33. *H*á*t*ib b. al-*H*árith ; 34. His wife Fá*t*imah ; 35. His brother *Hatt*áb ; 36. Fokayhah, the wife of *Hatt*áb ; 37. Ma'mar, a brother of *H*á*t*ib and of *Hatt*áb ; 38. al-Sáyib, a son of 'Othmán mentioned under No. 12 ; 39. al-Mo*tt*alib ; 40. His wife Ramlah ; 41. Na*h*-*h*ám ; 42. *'Á*mir b. Fohayrah ; 43. Khálid b. Sa'yd ; 44. His wife Amynah ; 45. *H*á*t*ib b. 'Amr ; 46. Abú *H*odzayfah ; 47. Wáqid ; 48. Four sons of al-Bokayr (or Abú-l-Bokayr) ; 52. Ammár b. Yásir ; 53. Çohayb. Abú *H*átim Ibn Habbán, who gives nearly the same list, adds the name of Bilál.

(2.) In a year of famine Mo*h*ammad went to his uncle al-'Abbás, who was a rich merchant, and said, Thy brother Abú *T*álib has a large family, and is in distressed circumstances ; let us go to him, and I will take one of his sons off his hands, and do thou take another. Al-'Abbás consented, and took care of Ja'far ; and the prophet took care of 'Alyy, who continued henceforth to be a member of his family, and subsequently married his daughter Fá*t*imah. 'Alyy was thirty years younger than Mo*h*ammad, and about six years of age when he came into his house, and ten when Mo*h*ammad first assumed his office.

knowledge him as a prophet; and the only man who disputes with them the priority is Abú Bakr. But if we compare the original traditions on this subject, we come to the conclusion that these four persons followed the mind of Mo*h*ammad in its doubts and speculations. They came with him to the conviction of the truth of the unity of God, and the other leading tenets of the Islám; they were in the habit of fasting and saying prayers with him; and subsequently, when his fit had stamped him as a man who was in communication with supernatural beings, they considered him as the Messenger of God, deputed to sanction the doctrine which they had followed.[1] They were prior to other converts, not because they entertained earlier the same sentiments on religious subjects as Mo*h*ammad; but because their faith in the one God grew up along with his; and because they first acknowledged him as a prophet.

Another fact, on which all authorities agree, is that the prophet had, up to the end of the sixth year of his mission, not more than fifty followers;[2] but though most of them acknowledged him as a prophet, as soon as he proclaimed himself as such, only six men professed publicly their faith in him, at the beginning of the sixth year.[3] It is clear we must dis-

(1.) " 'Abbád b. 'Abd Allah said, I heard 'Alyy declaring, I am the servant of God and the brother of the prophet........I was in the habit of saying the prayers seven years before other people." *T*abary, p. 102. It will be observed from p. 102, that there is a good tradition, in which a duration of seven years is attributed to the transition period. Similar accounts are extant regarding Abú Bakr. *T*abary says that 'Alyy never worshipped the idols; he was brought up by Mo*h*ammad in a purer faith.

(2.) " 'Omar early embraced the Islám, towards the end of the sixth year after the mission. He was preceded in his conversion by forty men and eleven women; some say, by thirty-nine men and twenty-three women; and some say by forty-five men and eleven women; and it is stated, on the authority of Sa'yd b. al-Mosayyib, that 'Omar was converted after forty men and ten women." Nawawy, *Biogr. Dict.* p. 448.—Ibn Qotaybah asserts that thirty-nine persons, (literally *men and women*), professed the Islám before 'Omar, and that he was the fortieth. Ibn Qotaybah is certainly under a mistake. Abú *H*átim Ibn Habbán says, that when 'Omar embraced the Islám Mo*h*ammad was surrounded by *near* forty persons, men and women, in the house of al-Arqam. This, however, was not the whole flock of Musalmans; for fourteen men and four women had emigrated to Abyssinia.

(3.) " 'Ammár and Çohayb embraced the Islám simultaneously, at the time

tinguish three periods in the conversion of the earliest believers. 1. When they came first to the knowledge of the unity of God. Therein most of them preceded Mohammad. 2. When they first considered Mohammad as a prophet. Only five persons,[1] besides the four mentioned above, seem to have at once believed in him; most of the others remained undecided for some time. 3. When they first publicly professed their faith, and placed themselves as a new sect in opposition to their countrymen. In some traditions the conversion of any one of these fifty persons is calculated from the first, and in other traditions from the second or third of the above periods; and hence the confusion.

Instead of following Musalman authors in their childish disputes on the seniority of their saints in the Islám, I will divide the first fifty converts, of whose early history we possess any information, into groups, with a view of throwing light on the origin of the doctrine ascribed to Mohammad. To the first group belong slaves and foreigners, who imported purer religious notions into Arabia. The second group is composed of men, of whom it is known that they were sceptics before they followed Mohammad; and to the third group belong converts of Abú Bakr, most of whom were near relations of Mohammad.

Many of the slaves of Makkah derived their origin from

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when the prophet was in the house of al-Arqam. He ('Ammár) was converted after thirty odd men. It is related on the authority of Mojáhid, that the first who publicly professed the Islám were Abú Bakr, Bilál, Khabbáb, Çohayb, 'Ammár and his mother Somayyah." Nawawy, *Biogr. Dict.* p. 4ô6.—Mohammad was in the house of al-Arqam in the sixth year after his mission.—In the *Isty'áb* it is said, on the authority of 'Abd Allah b. Mas'úd, "First there were seven persons who publicly professed the Islám, viz. the Prophet, Abú Bakr, 'Ammár, his mother Somayyah, Çohayb, and al-Miqdád."

(1.) Tabary mentions the following persons; and says of each of them, that he is considered the fourth or fifth convert: Khálid b. Sa'yd b. al-'Aç and his wife, Abú Dzarr Ghifáry, 'Abasah Solamy and al-Zobayr. Having made mention of these persons Tabary proceeds to say, that Mohammad preached the first three years secretly, and to relate how he commenced to preach publicly. It would therefore appear that these were, besides his family, Abú Bakr and a few slaves, the only followers of Mohammad up to the fourth year of his mission.

Christian countries. Some of them had been carried away from their homes in their youth, and others were born of Christian parents at Makkah. Their notions of the Christian religion were imperfect, and almost smothered by pagan superstitions; but the few remnants which they had preserved were sacred to them, not only on account of the intrinsic merits of our faith, but because they were connected with their recollections of freedom, home and youth. Men of this description no doubt prepared the way for the Islám by inculcating purer notions respecting God upon their masters and their brethren. These men saw in Mo*h*ammad their liberator; and being superstitious enough to consider his fits as the consequence of an inspiration, they were among the first who acknowledged him as a prophet. Many of them suffered tortures for their faith in him; and two of them died as martyrs. The excitement among the slaves, when Mo*h*ammad first assumed his office, was so great that 'Abd Allah b. Jod'án, who had one hundred of these sufferers, found it necessary to romove them from Makkah, lest they should all turn converts.[1] Abú Bakr fostered it by purchasing and manumitting several of those who had been tortured.[2]

The most important man among the slaves is Zayd b. *H*árithah.[3] He was of the Kalb, which was one of the Qodh-

(1.) Abyáry, in his account of Bilál.

(2.) Abú Bakr bought and manumitted seven slaves, who had been tortured for professing the Islám: viz. 1. Bilál; 2. 'Ámir b. Fohayrah; 3. Zonnayr; 4. Omm 'Obays; 5. Nahdyyah; 6. Her daughter; 7. A slave woman of the banú 'Adyy. Waqidy, fol. 227, mentions, among those who were tortured, 'Ammár, Çohayb, Abú Fokayhah, Bilál, 'Ámir b. Fohayrah, "*and many other Musalmans.*" To them alludes the verse of the Qorán, 16, 111, "Those who emigrate after they have had a hard trial."

(3.) His name and genealogy are, Abú Osámah Zayd b. *H*árithah b. Shará*h*yl—[Ibn Isháq and Ibn Hishám insert here "b. Ka'b"]—b. 'Abd al-'Ozzá b. Amry-l-Qays b. 'Ámir b. al-No'mán b. 'Ámir b. 'Abd Wodd b. 'Awf b. *Kinánah*—[Ibn Hishám inserts "b. Bakr"]—b. 'Awf b. '*Odzrah* b. Zayd al-Lát b. Rofaydah b. Thawr b. *Kalb* b. Wabarah b. Taghlib b. *H*olwán b. 'Amrán b. Al*h*áf b. *Qodhá'ah*. Thus the genealogy runs in Wáqidy and in Ibn Hishám. In Nawawy, p. 260, it differs considerably from it, but is certainly less correct. They all agree that he was a Kalbite; and this is important for our subject.

á'ah tribes, and the greater part of which professed the Christian religion.[1] Wáqidy says, that one day he went with his mother on a visit to her own tribe the Ma'nites. They were overtaken on the road by robbers of the tribe al-Qayn b. *H*abs,[2] and Zayd was carried away as a captive into Shám, which implies both Syria and Arabia Petrea. Subsequently *H*akym b. *H*izám bought him with other slaves, and gave him to his aunt Khadyjah, because he was a most excellent attendant. This was after she had married Mo*h*ammad. Her husband took a liking to him, and she made a present to him of the slave. The prophet gave him his nurse Omm Ayman, who must then have been about forty years of age, in marriage; and before he received the first revelation he gave him his freedom, and adopted him as his son; and so great was his affection for Zayd that he is called al-*H*ibb, or the beloved of the prophet.[3] There can be little doubt that Zayd had been brought up in the Christian faith. He was born in a Christian tribe, and came from a Christian country; for the inhabitants of Syria and Arabia Petrea then professd that religion. The intimacy which subsisted

(1.) Ibn Qotaybah, in the chapter on the religions of Arabia before Mo*h*ammad, says—"The Christian religion prevailed among the Raby'ah tribes, among the Ghassánites, and among some of the Qodhá'ah tribes and *Kalbites*." Ibn Sa'yd *apud* Qalqashandy, *Niháyat alarab*, says with reference to his own time, "The remnants of the Kalb tribe are now living in great numbers on the straits of Constantinople. Some of them are Musalmans, and some are Christians." The position of the Kalbites throws much light on their religion and social condition. It appears from Wáqidy that they were not far from the Ma'n, which was one of the *T*ayy tribes. These occupied the mountain of Shammar, which is called by poets "The two hills of the *T*ayyites." It would therefore appear that the Kalbites resided in the north west of Arabia; and we may be justified in identifying them with the Colpitæ of Strabo, who lived along the mercantile road from Babylonia to Syria. The tribes of those parts of Arabia were all Christian before Mo*h*ammad.

(2.) Ibn Qotaybah mentions the al-Qayn among the Qodhá'ah tribes, but gives no genealogy. It is likely that al-Qayn b. *H*abs is a mistake for al-Qayn b. Yasr. If this is the case the genealogy of the tribe runs: al Qayn (i. e. the smith; the name of the patriarch was al-No'mán) b. Yasr b. Shay' Allah—[Qalqashandy writes Shay' *al-Lát*]—b. Asad b. Wabarah b. Taghlib b. *H*olwán b. 'Amrán b. Al*h*áf b. Qodhá'ah.

(3.) Ibn Is*h*áq.

between him and the prophet; the circumstance that some authors assert that he embraced the Islám before 'Alyy, though the latter avers that he used to say prayers with Mo*h*ammad seven years before other converts—that is to say, long before he assumed his office; and above all, the palpable attempts of Musalman writers to mystify his early history, lead us to suspect that he had a great share in originating the new doctrine. Wáqidy says, that *H*akym b. *H*izám bought him at 'Okátz, and omits mentioning that he had come from a Christian country; but he admits that he was of the Kalb tribe. And Nawawy states that he was only eight years of age when Khadyjah bought him; but he contradicts himself; for he admits that he soon after married Omm Ayman; it is moreover certain that he was upwards of fifty four years of age when he was killed, and his death took place in A. H. 8. He must therefore have been twenty-two years of age when Khadyjah married Mo*h*ammad, and he came into her possession after her marriage. Nawawy can have no other object in deviating from the truth than to make his readers believe that, though Zayd had been born of Christian parents, and came from a Christian country, he could not have been initiated into our faith, owing to his youth.

Another slave, who early acknowledged Mo*h*ammad as a prophet, was Bilál.[1] He was born in servitude at Makkah; but his father Rabá*h* was an Abyssinian, and in all likelihood a Christian.[2] Bilál was the favorite servant of his master; but drew the full measure of his wrath upon himself when he renounced idolatry and worshipped the one God. This happened before Mo*h*ammad assumed his office;[3] for Bilál, as we have

(1.) "One tradition says that the first woman who believed in Ma*h*ammad was Khadyjah, and the first freed-man was Zayd, and after him Bilál." *Syrati Kázarúny*.

(2.) According to *one* tradition in Wáqidy, Bilál was a native of the Sarát or highlands between al-*T*áyif and Yaman. This however is contradicted on the most positive proofs by Ibn Qotaybah, and by Wáqidy himself. Bilál died at Damascus in A. H. 20, at the age of 60.

(3.) Abyáry. This statement is confirmed by Ibn Is*h*áq, who says that Wa-

seen above, was a Musalmán before the prophet himself. 'Omar entertained so high an opinion of him that he called him one of the leaders of the Faithful.[1] As soon as the prophet received the first revelation he believed in him, and was one of the first six men who publicly professed their faith.

Jabr, a Christian, of whom it is said that he taught Mo*h*ammad the Scriptures, (see p. 99), was equally an early convert to the Islám; but being tortured he denied his faith, until his master al-*H*adhramy came himself to the conviction of the truth of the doctrine of the prophet; and they now both joined his standard.[2] The name of Yasár, who is mentioned along with Jabr, as having taught the Scriptures to Mo*h*ammad, does not appear among his followers. He was probably dead; but we find among them his daughter Fokayhah, her husband *Hatt*ab, her two brothers-in-law *Há*-*t*ib[3] and Ma'mar, and the wife of the former.

Another Christian, who early embraced the Islám, was Çohayb Rúmy, or the Roman. He had been brought up in the Greek territory, and probably born there. His descendants asserted that he was a native of the Greek empire; that he ran away from his home, came to Makkah, and placed himself under the protection of 'Abd Allah b. Jod'án, with whom he remained till his (Ibn Jod'án's) death.[4] The Arabic language and manners became so familiar[5] to him, that he passed for an Arab; and it was probably this circumstance which gave rise to the story, that he was a native of the tribe al-Namir b. Qási*t*;

raqah was alive when Bilál was tortured. As Waraqah died before Mo*h*ammad assumed his office, he must have been tortured the first time when he renounced idolatry.

(1.) "'Omar used to say, Abú Bakr is our leader (Sayyid), and he has manumitted our leader, meaning Bilál."—Wáqidy, fol. 234.

(2.) Zamakhshary, *Kashsháf*, 16, 108.

(3.) *Hát*ib b. al-*H*árith b. Ma'mar b. *H*abyb b. Wahb b. *H*odzáfah b. Joma*h*. His wife was Fá*t*imah, a daughter of al-Majallal b. 'Abd Allah b. Aby Qays b. 'Abd Wodd b. Naçr b. Málik b. *H*isl b. 'Ámir b. Lowayy.

(4.) Wáqidy, fol. 223.

(5.) Ibn Qotaybah.

that his father was governor for the Chozroes of al-Obollah, and resided at Thany near Mosul; and that Çohayb was during his infancy carried away by the Greeks, who had taken his father's castle by surprise; and that he was brought up in the Greek dominions. There he was bought by Kalb, who took him to Makkah and sold him to 'Abd Allah b. Jod'án as a slave. Subsequently he was manumitted by his master, but he remained under his protection. He joined the new sect when the prophet was in the house of al-Arqam; and though upwards of thirty persons had preceded him in acknowledging Mo*h*ammad as a messenger of God, he was one of the first six persons who publicly professed their faith. As he was without protection, the Qorayshites attempted by tortures to make him deny his conviction, but in vain; he remained staunch. He had acquired considerable wealth at Makkah; and therefore, when he intended to emigrate to Madynah with the prophet, the Qorayshites reproached him for his ingratitude, saying, "Thou camest to this city as a poor man; now, as thou hast made thy fortune, thou leavest us. We shall not permit thee to act in this manner." And they forcibly detained him. If you wish, he replied, I will leave all that I have behind. They consented to his emigrating on these terms, and he joined Mo*h*ammad. When the prophet heard of the sacrifice which he had made, he said, Çohayb is the gainer in the bargain; Çohayb is the gainer.[1]

(1.) Beside the above, the following slaves or foreigners are mentioned among the earliest converts: 1. 'Ámir b. Fohayrah, whose genealogy is not known. He was probably not of Arabic origin. He was originally a slave of *T*ofayl b. al-*H*árith, a maternal brother of 'Áyishah. 'Ámir embraced the Islám before Mo*h*ammad went into the house of al-Arqam, and being tortured for it Abú Bakr bought and manumitted him. He was killed A. H. 4, at an age of 40 years.—Wáqidy, fol. 223. 2. 'Ámir (b. Raby'ah b. Málik b. 'Ámir?) b. Raby'ah the younger b. *H*ojayr b. Salámán b. Málik b. Raby'ah the elder b. Rofaydah b 'Abd Allah, who is called '*Anz*, b. *Wáyil* b. Qási*t* b. Hanab (Hinb?) b. Afçá b. Do'my b. Jadylah. He was adopted as a son by 'Ámir b. Kha*tt*áb, and embraced the Islám before the prophet went into the house of al-Arqam. 3. Yásir b. 'Ámir b. Málik of the 'Ans tribe, which is one of the Mad*h*ij tribes, and consequently related to the Morád tribe. He came from Yaman to Makkah, and placed himself under the pro-

The first convert of Mo*h*ammad from among those men, who had been sceptics before he received revelations, was 'Amr b. 'Abasah, of the Solaym tribe.[1] He relates himself what caused him to doubt the truth of idolatry. An Arabic tribe, which was in the habit of worshipping stones, happened to be without a god. One of their chiefs went in search of one. He found four stones which he admired, and selected the finest of them as a god for his clan to worship. As he proceeded, he found a much finer stone; and he took it, and cast away the former. Before he reached home, he met with a stone, which pleased him better still, and he again enchanged the former for it. This, he says, convinced me that idols can do neither good nor harm. Later authors say,

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tection of Abú *H*odzayfah b. al-Moghyrah Makhzúmy, and married Somayyah a slave woman of Abú Hodzayfah. She gave birth by him to 'Ammár, to whom Abú *H*odzayfah gave his freedom. When the Islám was promulgated Yásir, his two sons 'Ammár and 'Abd Allah, and his wife Somayyah embraced it, and the latter was put to death by Abú Jahl. When she was put to death she was no longer the wife of Yásir but of al-Azraq a Greek slave, who was probably a Christian. Al-Azraq was at al-*T*áyif, and joined the prophet at the siege of that city. 4. Khabbáb b. al-Aratt b. Jonadilah b. Sa'd b. Khozaymah b. Ka'b of the tribe of Sa'd b. Zayd Manáh b. Tamym. He was sold as a captive at Makkah, and bought by Omm Anmár a Khozá'ahite woman, who was a confederate of 'Awf b. 'Abd 'Awf a Zohrite. Some however say that he was born at Makkah. It does not appear when he obtained his freedom. He was the sixth convert to the Islám. 5. 'Abd Allah b. Mas'úd b. Gháfil b. *H*abyb b. Shamkh b. Fár b. Makhzúm b. Çá*h*ilah b. Káhil (Káhal?) b. al-*H*árith b. Tamym b. Sa'd b. Hodzayl, a confederate of 'Abd Allah b. al-*H*árith b. Zohrah. He was one of the first eighteen converts. He was well informed, a pleasant companion, and his attachment to the prophet was boundless. He was mostly about his person, and had charge on his journeys of his toilet bag, (see p. 88), slippers, &c. He collected, previous to the flight, what had been revealed of the Qorán. The mother of 'Abd Allah was equally in constant attendance on the prophet, and they were like his domestic servants. 6. Mas'úd b. Raby'ah al-Qáry b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. 'Abd al-'Ozzá b. Himál b. Ghálib b. Mo*h*allim b. 'Áyidhah b. Sobay' b. al-Hún b. Khozaymah was a confederate of the Zohrah family, and embraced the Islám before Mo*h*ammad was in the house of al-Arqam.

(1.) 'Amr b. 'Abasah b. 'Ámir—[in the '*Oyún al-athr* is the name of Monqil in the place of 'Ámir]—b. Khálid b. Ghádhirah b. 'Attáb (or 'Affán) b. 'Amr al-Qays b. Bohthah b. *Solaym* b. Mançúr b. 'Ikrimah b. Khaçafah b. Qays 'Aylán b. Modhar. According to a tradition in Moslim he was the fourth who embraced the new faith. He wished to remain with the prophet at Makkah, but was recommended by him to return to his tribe until he might hear that he had left Makkah. Ibn 'Abasah therefore joined him at Madynah after the battle of the ditch. He and Abú Dzarr had the same mother, but different fathers. Her name was Ramlah. Ibn 'Abasah died at *H*imç in Syria.—Nawawy, *Biogr. Dict.* p. 480.

that he communicated his doubts to a Jew, and he informed him that a prophet would arise in Arabia, who would lead him to the true faith; and he directed him to go to Makkah. 'Amr followed his advice, and arrived there just when Mohammad received the first revelations. When 'Amr came to Mohammad he asked him, Who are thy followers? He said, A free man, meaning Abú Bakr, and a slave. Well, rejoined 'Amr, this being the case, I form one-fourth of your community.[1]

The conversion of Abú Dzarr Ghifáry,[2] one of the most thinking men of the new sect, of whom 'Alyy used to say, that he was covetous of knowledge, is contemporaneous with that of 'Amr b. 'Abasah. They were half brothers, having had the same mother. These two men remained but a short time at Makkah. They returned to their tribes; but rejoined the prophet at Madynah. Abú Dzarr had equally renounced idolatry before Mohammad;[3] and he was remarkable for his abstemiousness, and his contempt for the goods and pleasures of the world. He considered it sinful to accumulate more than was absolutely necessary for sustaining life.

'Obayd Allah b. Jahsh, a cousin of Mohammad,[4] of whom it

(1.) This answer is in Ibn Qotaybah and Nawawy; but the former ascribes it to 'Amr b. 'Abasah, and the latter to Abú Dzarr. The story of 'Amr's communicating his doubts to a Jew I found in Abyáry only.

(2. Abú Dzarr Jondob b. Jonádah b. Sofyán b. 'Obayd b. al-Rafy'ah b. Harrám b. Ghifár b. Molayl b. Dhamrah b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manáh b. Kinánah b. Khozaymah. Abú Dzarr died at al-Rabadzah A. H. 32.—Nawawy, *Biogr. Dict.* p. 714.

(3.) It is stated in the *Insán al-'Oyún* that Abú Dzarr used to say prayers three years before the mission of Mohammad. Bokháry says that as soon as he heard that a prophet had risen at Makkah, he sent his brothers to make inquiries, and subsequently he went himself; and after he had satisfied himself that he was really a prophet, he exclaimed at the Ka'bah, "I declare there is no God but the God, and Mohammad is the Messenger of the God." But according to other accounts Mohammad recommended him to conceal his faith, and to return to his country. The account of Bokháry, like many others of his traditions, is certainly a lie. It is stated, that he was the first who greeted the prophet with the words Salám 'alayka. This became henceforth the form of salutation usual among Musalmans.

(4.) 'Obayd Allah b. Jahsh b. Riyáb b. Ghanm (Ya'mor?) b. Çabarah b. Morrah b. Kathyr b. *Ghanm b. Dúdán* b. Asad b. Khozaymah. His mother

has been said, in p. 40, that he renounced publicly the religion of his fathers before the mission of the prophet, was one of his earliest followers; and with him his two brothers, his three sisters,[1] and their husbands,[2] became converts; and before the hijrah the whole of the family of Dúdán, to which 'Obayd Allah belonged, embraced the new faith. 'Obayd Allah publicly professed his new religion; and with a view of avoiding the persecutions of the Qorayshites he took flight to Abyssinia. There he embraced the Christian religion, and died in it. His brothers and sisters kept their faith secret up to the sixth year of the mission; but they remained staunch; and when the hijrah took place the whole family of Dúdán emigrated to Madynah and locked up their houses.[3]

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was Omaymah, a daughter of 'Abd al-Mottalib. He was therefore a cousin of Mohammad. The time when he and his relations embraced the new religion is not specified, but it is said by Wáqidy and Nawawy, p. 337, that they were converts of Mohammad before he went into the house of al-Arqam, and therefore very few can have preceded them.

(1.) His brothers were 'Abd Allah the Mutilated, who was killed at the battle of Ohad at an age of forty years, and 'Abd. His sisters were Zaynab, a wife of Mohammad, Omm Habybah, and Hamnah, (see Nawawy, *Biogr. Dict.* p. 337.) According to the *Qámús* p. 174, Hamnah was a slave woman, and had to undergo tortures for having embraced the islam; but was bought by Abú Bakr and set free.

(2.) Moç'ab al-Khayr b. 'Omayr b. Háshim b. 'Abd Manáf b. 'Abd al-dár b. Qoçayy was the husband of Hamnah. He formally joined the new sect when Mohammad was in the house of al-'Arqam, but he concealed his faith for fear of his mother and of his family. After some time, however, it became known to them, and they confined him until he took refuge in Abyssinia. His parents were rich, and his mother was the most elegant and well dressed woman in Makkah. Moç'ab was a very handsome young man, and brought up in every luxury; but when he came back from Abyssinia he was in the most deplorable condition, and had to hear the most insulting language from his mother. He bore his misery with fortitude. Mohammad sent him subsequently in advance to Madynah, to instruct the inhabitants in the Qorán. He was killed in the battle of Ohad, in which he fought with the utmost bravery, in A. H. 3, at the age of 40 years. He died in the greatest poverty.

(3.) The Dúdán family was in confederation with Harb b. Omayyah and his son Abú Sofyán. The members of the Dúdán family who emigrated to Madynah, besides the family of Jahsh, are Okáshah b. Mihçan b. Horthán b. Qays b. Morrah b. Kathyr b. Ghanm; his brother Abú Sanán b. Mihçan; his son Sanán b. Aby Sanán; Shojá' b. Wahb b. Raby'ah b. Asad b. Çohayb b. Málik b. Kathyr b. Ghanm; Arbad b. Homayrah; Ma'bad b. Nobátah; Sa'yd b. Roqaysh; Yazyd b. Roqaysh; Mohriz b. Nadhlah b. 'Abd Allah b. Morrah b. Kathyr b. Ghanm; Qays b. Jábir; 'Amr b. Mihçan b. Málik; Çafwán b. 'Amr; his brother Thaqf or Thiqáf; Raby'ah b. Aktham; and al-Zobayr b. 'Obayd.

Zayd, the sceptic, who has been mentioned above, in p. 41, died five years before Mo*h*ammad received the first revelations, and was buried at the foot of mount *H*arâ.[1] It was he who prepared the way for the prophet. "Zayd," says a tradition in Wáqidy, fol. 255, "was in search of the true religion. He disapproved of the tenets of the Christians and Jews, as well as of idolatry and the worshiping of stones; and he publicly attacked the religion of his countrymen, and would not worship their gods, nor eat the flesh of animals which had been sacrificed to idols. He said to 'Ámir b. Raby'ah, I have separated from my tribe, and I follow the religion of Abraham; and I worship the God whom he and his son Ishmael worshipped. They were praying towards this Qiblah (the Ka'bah), and I expect that a prophet will arise from among the children of Ishmael; and though I fear I shall not live to see him, I believe in him; and I bear witness that he is a prophet. If thou, O 'Ámir, livest long enough thou wilt see him."—"The prophet one day met Zayd, before his mission, in the lower part of Balda*h*;[2] and he offered him a dish of meat. Zayd refused to partake of it, saying that he would not eat the flesh of an animal which had been sacrificed to idols, or which had been slaughtered without the name of God being invoked upon it. He used to blame the Qorayshites for the manner in which they slaughtered animals, saying, The sheep has been created by God, and fed by God; for it is he who sends water from heaven, and produces grass from the earth. Yet you slaughter it invoking another name than His. You thus neglect to acknowledge His bounty, and you offend Him."[3] "Zayd b. 'Amr went to Syria to enquire after *the* religion, and to follow it. He met a learned Jew, and asked him respecting his creed, saying, Perhaps I shall embrace your faith. The

(1.) Two traditions in Wáqidy.
(2.) "Balda*h* is a wády before (east of?) Makkah, or a hill on the road to Joddah." *Qámús*, p. 267.
(3.) A tradition of 'Abd Allah b. 'Omar, in Bokháry and Wáqidy.

Jew answered, Thou canst not follow our faith without loading a share of the wrath of God upon thee. Zayd rejoined, I avoid nothing more than the wrath of God, and I will as long as I can take care not to load it upon myself; but point out to me what the true religion is, if it be not Judaism. The Jew answered, I know nothing better than that thou shouldst be a *H*anyf. What is the *H*anyf? asked Zayd. It is the religion of Abraham; he was neither a Jew nor a Christian; he worshipped nothing but God. After this Zayd met a learned Christian. He asked him the same questions, and received the same answers. When Zayd had left them and was alone, he raised his hands and exclaimed, O God, I bear witness that I follow the religion of Abraham."[1] Every word respecting Zayd is important; and every word which he uttered we find again and again repeated in the Qorân. Like Zayd, Mo*h*ammad professes to be a *H*anyf, and to follow the religion of Abraham, of whom he says, "Abraham was not a Jew nor a Christian; but he was a *H*anyf, a Musalman, and not one of those who associate false gods with God."[2] In another passage of the Qorân, 30, 29, he calls this the natural religion; or, as he expresses it, the religion made by God, to which man has been created.

It has been observed above, that the term Islám, which is the name most frequently applied by Mo*h*ammad and his followers to their faith, had been borrowed by them from Zayd; and it appears, from the tradition just quoted, that the word *H*anyf, by which the new sect frequently distinguished itself from the followers of other religions, had equally been used by that sceptic. It may not be out of place here to explain the proper meaning of these two terms. Islám is the verbal noun, or infinitive, and Moslim, which has been corrupted into Musalman, is the participle of the causative form of salm,

(1.) *Ibidem*, on the same authority.
(2.) *Qorán* 3, 60.

which means immunity, peace. The signification of Islâm is, therefore, to make peace, or to obtain immunity,[1] either by compact, or by doing homage to the stronger, and acknowledging his superiority, and surrendering to him, the object of the dispute. It also means simply to surrender.[2] In the Qorân it signifies in most instances to do homage to God, to acknowledge Him as our absolute Lord to the exclusion of idols.[3] Sometimes, however, it occurs in that book in its technical meaning, as the name of a religion.

The root from which *h*anyf is derived means generally, to turn from bad to good, or from good to bad; and it seems, therefore, to answer to conversion and perversion. Al-Rághib informs us that the Arabs before Mo*h*ammad called a man *h*anyf, who had been circumcised, and who had performed the pilgrimage to the Ka'bah. In the Qorân usually the words "and he did not associate false gods with the God," are added to *h*anyf by the way of explanation; and it seems, therefore, to mean a man who turns, or has been converted from idolatry to the worship of the true God. That this is the signification of the word is clearly demonstrated by the following passage, Súrah 22, 31 and 32, "Avoid the abominations of the idols, and avoid false doctrines; be *h*anyfs (converts) to the God, and do not associate false gods with Him."

(1.) Al-Rághib, *Dict. to the Qorán*, explains Islám by "entering into salm (peace) with another, so that both parties may enjoy immunity from each other's harm." He also brings islám into connexion with salam, which means to give money in advance on the harvest, which is to be delivered on a fixed date. Perhaps we might push the analogy of the meaning of salam and islám farther than this author, and suppose that the Arabs conceived that religion is a compact with God, in virtue of which we earn everlasting happiness in our future life by the good works done in this.

(2.) It has this meaning in the following sentence of the Qorán, 3, 18. "I have surrendered my face (i. e. myself) to God."

(3.) That this is the sense of the word islám is particularly clear from the following verse of the Qorán, 6, 14. "Will you acknowledge a lord besides the God; besides Him who is the Creator of heaven and earth; besides Him who provides us with nourishment and requires no nourishment himself? I have orders to be the first who *does Him homage* (i. e. acknowledges him as the Lord); be not of those who associate false gods with him."

Sa'yd, the son of Zayd,[1] and his disciples, were among the first converts of Mohammad; but some of them kept their faith secret out of fear of the 'Adyy family, with which they were united, until 'Omar, who was the most energetic man of the tribe, embraced the Islám. Among the disciples of Zayd was 'Ámir b. Raby'ah,[2] who joined the party of Mohammad before he entered the house of al-Arqam, the four sons of al-Bokayr, (or Abú-Bokayr[3]), and probably also Wáqid,[4] Abú Bakr and Mohammad himself.

The first believers in Mohammad after his family, and those who contributed most towards the progress of the new doctrine, were Abú Bakr and his friends. Abú Bakr[5] was a wealthy merchant of the Taym family. His straightforwardness in his dealings, and his benevolence, gained him the

(1.) Sa'yd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nofayl was a nephew of 'Omar b. al-Khattáb. He embraced the Islám before Mohammad entered the house of al-Arqam. He was one of the most sincere and devoted followers of Mohammad, and died at 'Aqyq in A. H. 50 or 51, at the age of 70 years.

(2.) 'Amir b. Raby'ah 'Arzy. His genealogy runs, according to Ibn al-Kalby apud *'Oyún alathr*, 'Amir b. Raby'ah the younger b. Hojayr b. Salámán b. Málik b. Raby'ah the elder b. Rofaydah b. 'Abd Allah, who was called *'Anz*, b. Wábil b. Qásit b. Hinb b. Afçá b. Do'my b. *Jadylah* b. Asad b. Raby'ah b. Nizár.

(3.) It is stated by Waqidy, fol. 196, that the whole of the family of al-Bokayr (or Abú-l-Bokayr—there is some doubt regarding his name) embraced the Islám before the flight, and emigrated to Madynah. Four sons of al-Bokayr are named, viz. Gháfil, whose name Mohammad changed into 'Aqil, Khálid, Jyás and 'Amir. The genealogy of al-Bokayr is b. 'Abd Yalyl b. Náshib b. Ghorrah (some write 'Ayazah, and some Ghyrah) b. Sa'd b. Layth b. Bakr b. *Bakr* b. Abd Manáh b. Kinánah. He was a confederate of Nofayl b. 'Abd al-'Ozzá, the father of the eccentric Zayd, mentioned in p. 41; and his four sons were the first who swore fidelity to Mohammad in the house of al-Arqam. 'Aqil was killed at Badr in A. H. 3, at an age af 43 years; and Khálid was killed in A. H. 4, at an age of 34 years.

(4.) Wáqid b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd Manáf b. 'Ozayr (in Waqidy 'Azyz) b. Tha'labah b. Yarbú' b. Hantzalah b. Málik b. Zayd Manáh (Yazyd Manáh ?) b. Tamym was sold by his own relatives to al-Khattáb the son of Nofayl and father of 'Omar, who subsequently manumitted him and adopted him as his son. Wáqid swore fidelity to Mohammad before he entered the house of al-Arqam, and died in the beginning of the Khalifat of 'Omar.

(5.) Abú Bakr means the father of the virgin. He was called so because his daughter 'Áyishah was the only woman whom Mohammad married as a maiden; all his other wives had been married before. The name of Abú Bakr before the Islám was 'Abd al-Ka'bah; the prophet changed it into 'Abd Allah. His sobriquet was 'Atyq, the old or excellent. His father's name was Abú Qoháfah 'Othmán. He was a Qorayshite of the Taym family.—Ibn Qotaybah.

confidence and affections of his fellow-citizens. He was a pleasant companion, and possessed an unusual share of common sense; but he was defective in originality of ideas. His energy was the result of cool reflection and a conviction of right, and his perseverance was neither heightened into impetuosity by sudden impulses, nor ever damped by disappointments. He was staunch as a friend, and made by nature to work out the ideas of others. The originality and sublimity of the genius of Mo*h*ammad, who was only two years older than Abú Bakr, fettered him from his childhood to his person; and owing to his unlimited devotion to him he is called Çiddyq, or the bosom friend of the prophet. It is stated that he believed in the unity of God previous to the mission of the prophet;[1] and many authors assert that he was the first to believe in him after Khadyjah. The prophet said, All my converts hesitated for some while before they acknowledged my mission, with the exception of Abú Bakr. He was to all appearance the confident and friend of the prophet, with whom he discussed, during the transition period, his doubts and speculations. When the fit of Mo*h*ammad gave a supernatural character to his ideas on religion, Abú Bakr must have felt as much satisfaction, and he must have been as ready to consider him as a prophet, as Khadyjah and the rest of his family. The faith of Abú Bakr is, in my opinion, the greatest guarantee of the sincerity of Mo*h*ammad in the beginning of his career; and he did more for the

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(1.) *Tanqyh* of Ibn al-Jawzy. In a fragment of a commentary on Bokháry (?) in my possession an ancient verse is quoted to prove that Abú Bakr believed in the unity of God before the mission. According to the *Insán al'oyún* it was Ba*h*yrá who foretold to Abú Bakr the advent of a prophet. In the same work it is stated, on the authority of Dzohaby, "Waraqah, and persons like him, as for instance Ba*h*yrá, were people of the fatrah, aud not of the islám;" and lower down it is said, "people of the fatrah are those who died after Mo*h*ammad had received the first revelation (nabúwah), and before he assumed his office (risálah). This is the opinion of Dzohaby. The prophet assumed his office after the words "O thou wrapped up" was revealed to him; and the first revelation was "Read." This goes far to confirm what has been said in page 80, and in pages 97 *et seqq.*

success of the Islám than the prophet himself. His having joined Mo*h*ammad lent respectability to his cause; he spent seven eighths of his property, which amounted to 40,000 dirhams, or a thousand pounds, when he embraced the new faith, towards its promotion at Makkah; and he continued the same course of liberality at Madynah; and six of the earliest and most talented and respectable converts, who joined Mo*h*ammad, did so at his persuasion; and they had been evidently prepared by him long before the mission. They are 'Othmán b. 'Affán, a cousin of Mo*h*ammad, who was subsequently elected his third successor;[1] al-Zobayr, a nephew of Khadyjah and a cousin of the prophet;[2] 'Abd al-Ra*h*mán b. 'Awf,[3] an active and wealthy merchant of the Zohrah family, who was only ten years younger than the prophet;[4] Sa'd b. Aby-l-Waqqáç, a cousin of Mo*h*ammad, who was only sixteen years of age;[5] and *T*al*h*ah.[6] To these may be added the name of Khálid b. Sa'yd, who was the fifth convert.[7] These again induced their friends to acknowledge

(1.) 'Othmán b. 'Affán, a cousin of Mo*h*ammad by his mother Arwá, a daughter of Baydhá a daughter of 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib. He married successively two daughters of the prophet, and died as the third Khalif in A. H. 35.

(2.) Al-Zobayr b. al-'Awwám b. Khowayled. This Khowayled was the father of Khadyjah. Al-Zobayr's mother was Çaffyyah, a daughter of 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib, and therefore a sister of Mo*h*ammad's father. Al-Zobayr was killed in A. H. 36, at an age of 67 years.

(3.) 'Abd al-Ra*h*mán b. 'Awf was a man of great talents and activity. He spent his money liberally in charity, and in promoting the cause of the Islám. He died in A. H. 32.

(4.) Sa'd a son of Abú Waqqáç, who was a brother of 'Áminah the mother of Mo*h*ammad. He was a Zohrite; and according to some he was the fifth, and according to others the seventh convert. He died in A. H. 55.

(5.) Tal*h*ah b. 'Obayd Allah, of the Taym family, was a relation of Abú Bakr. Mo*h*ammad called him the Good Tal*h*ah (Tal*h*ah al-khayr.)

(6.) It would appear that he believed in the immortality of the soul before Mo*h*ammad, for it is said that he was induced to follow him by a dream, in which he saw himself on the brink of hell fire and on the point of falling into it. His father attempted to save him, but in vain. Then came Mo*h*ammad and took him by the girdle, and he felt himself in safety. The example of Khálid was early followed by his brother 'Amr, and subsequently by Abán another brother of his. Khálid was much ill-treated by his father for his faith, and took refuge with Mo*h*ammad, with whom he lived until he took flight to Abyssinia. He was the first who emigrated to that country.

(7.) Wáqidy informs us in fol. 256, (also Nawawy, *Biogr. Dict.* p. 414, quoting

Mo*h*ammad as a prophet;[1] so that the group of early converts, which was headed by Abú Bakr, may be estimated at

Ibn Sa'd, i. e. Wáqidy), that along with 'Abd-al-Rahmán b. 'Awf four other men went to Mo*h*ammad and became his followers before he went into the house of al-Arqam, viz. 'Obaydah b. al-Hárith b. al-Mo*tt*alib b. 'Abd Manáf b. Qoçayy; Abú Salamah, a Makhzúmite; 'Obaydah b. al-Jarrá*h*, the Trust-worthy, of the banú Fihr; and 'Othmán b. al-Matz'ún, a Joma*h*ite. The example of 'Othmán b. Mat'*z*ún was followed, before Mo*h*ammad went into the house of al-Arqam, by his son al-Sáyib, by his brothers 'Abd Allah and Qodámah, and by Ma'mar b. al-*H*árith a Joma*h*ite, who was 'Othman's grandson by his daughter Qotaylah. 'Othmán was of a reflective and melancholy disposition, and abstained from the use of wine during the time of paganism. He was fond of ascetic exercises, and would have lived in solitude and abstained from women had Mo*h*ammad permitted him to do so. "One day the wife of 'Othmán b. Matz'ún paid a visit to the wives of the prophet, and she found them well attired and comfortable; and they said to her how thou dost look! (how ill dressed thou art!) yet there is no man richer among all the Qoraysh tribe than thy husband. She said, We do not enjoy life; at night he prays, and in the day he fasts. They reported this to the prophet. When he met 'Othman, he said, Thou hast an example in me. 'Othmán answered, By my father and my mother, what doest thou mean? The prophet replied, Thou fastest during the day, and prayest during the night. 'Othmán said, Yes; I do so. But you must not do it, Said the prophet; thy eye has claims upon thee, thy body has claims upon thee, and thy family has claims upon thee. Pray and sleep, fast and eat. When 'Othmán's wife came again to Mo*h*ammad's house, she was perfumed like a bride. Well done! said the wives of the prophet. She replied, We are now living like other people." 'Othmán died in the third year after the hijrah. It is stated by Wáqidy, fol. 196, that the whole of the family of Matz'ún, men and women, were converted before the hijrah, and emigrated to Madynah.

The example of 'Obaydah b. al-*H*árith was followed by his two brothers—al-*T*ofayl, who died in A. H. 32, at an age of 70; and al *H*oçayn, who was married to a niece of Khadyjah, and died in A. H. 32, a few months after his brother; and by his kinsman Mis*t*a*h* b. Otháthah b. 'Abbád b. al Mo*tt*alib, who died in A. H. 34, or according to Nawawy in 37, at the age of 56. Mis*t*ah was, by his mother, a relation of Abú Bakr.

(1.) The following were originally the trades of those men, who rose to high importance through the introduction of the islám: "Abú *T*álib sold perfumes and sometimes wheat; Abú Bakr, 'Othmán, *T*al*h*ah and 'Abd al-Ra*h*mán b. 'Awf were merchants (shop-keepers); Sa'd b. Aby Waqqáç manufactured arrows; al-'Awwám the father of al-Zobayr was a grain merchant [according to one copy he was a taylor]; al-Zobayr, 'Amr b. al-'Aç, and 'Amr b. Korayz were butchers; al-'Açç b. Hishám, the brother of Abú Jahl, and al-Walyd b. al Mo*z*gyrah were blacksmiths; 'Oqbah b. Aby Mo'ay*t* was a wine merchant; 'Othmán b. *T*al*h*ah, to whom Mo*h*ammad gave the keys of the Ka'bah, and Qays b. Makhramah were taylors; Abú Sofyán b. *H*arb traded in raisins and red leather (of Yaman manufacture); 'Otbah b. Aby Waqqaç was a carpenter; Omayyah b. Khalaf sold wheat [according to one copy stone pots]; 'Abd Allah b. Jo'dán was a coppersmith,—he also kept public women and sold their children; al-'Aç b. Wáyil the father of 'Amr cured horses and camels; al-Nadhr b. al-*H*árith b. Kaldah, and al-*H*akam b. Aby-l-'Açç the father of Marwán, played the harp and sung; *H*orayth b. 'Amr the father of 'Amr, Qays Fihry the father of Dha*hh*ák, Ma'mar b. 'Othmán the grand father of 'Omar b. 'Abd Allah—[according to one copy 'Amr b. 'Obayd Allah]—and Syryn the father of Mo*h*ammad, were equally musicians; Mo*h*ammad the son of Syryn was a merchant. Abú-l-*H*asan Madáyny relates, that Yazyd b. al-Mohallib had a garden laid out in

twelve or thirteen men, all of whom were of good family, active, endowed with extraordinary firmness, energy and talents; and most of them were set up in business and wealthy.[1] This dozen of men, (to whose number we must add 'Omar), were, as long as Mo*h*ammad was alive, his principal advisers; and after his death they founded an empire which surpassed that of the Romans. Those who call these men hot headed fanatics must take fanaticism as synonymous with wisdom and perseverance. We find that in all their actions they were guided by the most consunmate prudence and by cool reflection; and their objects were in most cases noble, and the means which they employed were rarely objectionable.

From the preceeding account of early converts, and it embraces nearly all those who joined Mo*h*ammad during the first six years, it appears that the leading men among them held the tenets, which form the bas.s of the religion of the Arabic prophet, long before he preached them. They were not

his palace in Khorásán. When Qotaybah b. Moslim succeeded to the Government he put his camels into it. The Marzabán of Marwán said to him, This was a garden, and you make a camel-stand of it. Qotaybah answered, My father was a camel driver, and the father of Yazyd was a gardener. Mojammi' the ascetic was a weaver; Ayyúb sold morocco leather, and he is called the leather-seller; al-Mosayyáb the father of Abú Sa'yd was an oilman; Maymún b. Mehrán was a merchant; Málik b. Dynár sold paper and copied books (the Qorán); Abú *Ha*nyfah the founder of a sect was a raw-silk merchant." Ibn Qotaybah, *kitáb al-ma'árif*, p. 357.

(1.) "At the hour of prayer Mo*h*ammad went out with 'Alyy secretly for fear of 'Alyy's father Abú *T*álib and his other relations, into the narrow vallies round Makkah to attend to their devotional exercises, and returned in the evening. They went on in this manner for some time. Accidentally Abú *T*álib passed by them whilst they were saying their prayers, and he said to Mo*h*ammad, What is the religion of which as I observe thou art a follower? This, replied the prophet, is the religion of God, his angels, and his prophets, and of our father Abraham, or something to the same effect. And he continued saying something to the following effect: God has deputed me as his messenger to his servants. Thou, O uncle, hast the greatest claims that I should give to thee good advice, and that I should call thee to the true faith; embrace it, and assist me in propogating it. Abú *T*álib replied, I cannot leave my faith, which is the faith of my fathers; but as long as I live, I will protect thee."—*T*abary from Ibn Is*h*áq and others.—Henceforth it appears he went (as long as the persecution did not run very high) to the Ka'bah to say his prayers, as appears from the following tradition.

his tools, but his constituents. He clothed the sentiments, which he had in common with them, in poetical language; and his malady gave divine sanction to his oracles. Even when he was acknowledged as the messenger of God, 'Omar had as much or more influence on the development of the Islám as Mohammad himself. He sometimes attempted to overrule the convictions of these men, but he succeeded in very few instances. The Islám is not the work of Mohammad; it is not the doctrine of the Impostor; it embodies the faith and the sentiments of men who, for their talents and virtues, must be considered as the most distinguished of their nation, and who acted under all circumstances so faithful to the spirit of the Arabs that they must be regarded as their representatives. The Islám is therefore the offsping of the spirit of the time, and the voice of the Arabic nation. And it is this which made it victorious, particularly among nations whose habits resemble those of the Arabs, like the Berbers and Tatars. There is, however, no doubt that the Impostor has defiled it by his immorality and perverseness of mind, and that most of the objectionable doctrines are his.

During the first three years Mohammad preached his religion secretly, and he concealed himself with his followers in the ravines near Makkah to say prayers.[1] Besides his own family, some slaves, and Abú Bakr, none of his followers professed his faith publicly during this period.[2]

(1.) 'Afyf a Kindite, who was a half-brother of al-Asháth b. Qays, they both having had the same mother, said, I was an intimate friend of al-'Abbás b. 'Abd al-Mottalib, who used to visit Yaman, and to buy ottar, with a view of selling it again during the pilgrimage. One day whilst I was in company of al-'Abbás at Miná (according to two other traditions at the Ka'bah) there came a man, made seven ablutions, stood up and said prayers; and then came also a woman and a youth, who did the same. I asked al-'Ab'bás who they were; and he said, This is my nephew Mohammad. He believes that God has sent him as a messenger; and this is my nephew 'Ally, who is a follower of Mohammad." Tabary, original text, p. 105, three traditions.

(2.) "'Ammár b. Yásir said, I saw the prophet when he had no other followers but five slaves, two women and Abú Bakr." A tradition in Moslim. The names of these persons are mentioned in a note in page 177. We must add to them the name of 'Alyy.

In a small community like that of Makkah, the fits and subsequent pretensions of a member of a respectable family could not fail to create a great sensation. Many young men, particularly of the poor classes, which are always favorable to changes, believed in his mission.[1] But they were not prepared to undergo martyrdom for the new faith; and being without protection, they deserted him in the hour of trial. They were seeds fallen upon stony places.

The aristocracy of Makkah first viewed his pretensions with pity, and contented themselves with ridiculing him. When they saw him they would say, "Here comes the son of 'Abd Allah, who brings tidings from heaven." Only a few of them went early to extremes and heaped gross insults upon him.[2] The first part of his creed, "there is but one God," is self-evident; and to believe the second part "Mo*h*ammad is a messenger of God" requires no greater stretch of faith than to consider him possessed by jinn. Many of them were there-

(1.) The "prophet called to the islám publicly and secretly, and such as liked listened to him from among the young men and weak (unprotected) people. In this manner the flock of the faithful became numerous. The unbelievers among the Qorayshites did not deny the truth of what he said. When he passed a place where they were assembled they used to point at him saying, 'The boy of 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib talks from heaven (inspiration).' Thus matters went on until he spoke ill of their gods, whom they worshipped besides Him, and declared that their fathers, who had died disbelieving, were lost; then they assumed a hostile attitude towards him." A tradition of Zohry in Wáqidy. "Mo*h*ammad b Sa'd says, I asked my father, Was Abú Bakr the first among you who believed? and he answered, No: there were more than fifty persons who embraced the islám before him; but he was the most distinguished among them." *T*abary, p. 111. This tradition refers to the slaves and foreigners mentioned above, who believed in the one God before Mo*h*ammad.

(2.) In the Kashsháf, 15, 95 the following five names are mentioned: al-Walyd b. al-Moghyrah, al-'Áç b. al-Wáyil, al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghúth, al-Aswad b. 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib and al-*H*árith b. al-*T*olá*t*ilah; they all died previous to the battle of Badr. According to Wáqidy, fol. 38, the most inveterate enemies of the prophet were Abú Jahl b. Hishám, Abú Lahab b. 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib and 'Oqbah b. Aby Mo'ay*t*. Less spiteful were al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghúth, al-*H*árith b. Qays b. 'Adyy, who is usually called Ibn Ghay*t*alah, Ghay*t*alah being his mother, al-Walyd b. al-Moghyrah, Omayyah and Obay, two sons of Khalaf, Abú Qays b. al-Fákih b. al-Moghyrah, al-'Áç b. Wáyil, al-Nadr b. al-*H*árith, Monabbih b. al-*H*ajjáj, Zohayr b. Aby Omayyah, al-Sáyib b. Çayfy b. 'Ayidz, al-Aswad b. 'Abd al-Asad, al-'Áç b. Sa'yd b. al-'Áç, al-'Áç b. Háshim, al-*H*akam b. 'Aby-l-'Áç and 'Adyy b. al-*H*amrá. They were neighbours of Mo*h*ammad, and annoyed him very much; but he bore their spite with great patience.

fore half inclined to believe in him.[1] The great obstacle against their entire conversion was, no doubt, their jealousy: they could not be prevailed upon to acknowledge the man, who had been compelled to earn his livelihood by tending their sheep, as their superior.

Finding no serious opposition he resolved, in the fourth year of his mission, to convey the message which he had received from heaven in a solemn manner to his countrymen. The sentiments which animated him, when he hazarded this step, are expressed in the following words of the Qorân, 15, 94—99, in which God admonishes him courageously to fulfil his call: "Profess publicly the command which God has given to thee; separate thyself from the polytheists; we are a sufficient protection for thee against the scoffers, who acknowledge other gods besides the God. They will soon know (i. e. be punished). We know that thy heart is contracted by what they say; but persevere in the praise of God; be one of those who prostrate themselves and serve thy Lord until the certainty (death?) may overtake thee." He ascended the Çafá, a slight eminence in one of the principal streets of Makkah,

(1.) "When Mo*h*ammad first publicly preached the Islám, his countrymen did not separate themselves from him, nor did they oppose him, according to the information which I possess, until he mentioned their gods and condemned them. But when he did so it created a great sensation: they placed themselves in opposition to him, and his adversaries and enemies made common cause with each other."—Ibn Is*h*áq. "At first when he, that is to say, the Messenger of God, preached to his people the doctrine which God had revealed to him, and began to diffuse the light which God had sent to him, they did not much differ from him, and they were half inclined to listen to him, (i. e. to follow him;) but when he mentioned their Taghúts, shrines of idolatrous worship, there came some men of the Qoraysh tribe, from *T*áyif, who had property. They denied the truth of what he said; they were very violent against him, and disapproved of his preaching; and they encouraged their followers to be insolent against him; and the generality of the people left him, and only those whom God preserved remained staunch. They were few, and matters remained thus, as long as God had decreed that they should remain. At length the heads of the families of Makkah agreed to force those of their children, brothers and kinsmen, who followed him, to forsake the religion of God. This persecution entailed great hardships upon his followers. Some forsook him, but as many as God pleased remained staunch. When the Moslims were exposed to these persecutions, the prophet ordered them to emigrate into Abyssinia." A letter of 'Orwah, who died in A. H. 94, to the Khalif 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwán, in *T*abary's orig. text, p. 137.

not far from his own house, and exclaimed: "O Qorayshites!"—Many persons assembled round him to see what he had to say. He asked them, "If I were to tell you that there is an army on the other side of that mountain, would you believe me?" "Yes," they answered, "we do not consider thee to be a liar." He continued, "I come to you as an admonisher; I am preceded by a great punishment; and if you do not believe in me, a great punishment will befal you.—O children of 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib, O children of 'Abd Manáf, O children of Zohrah—he enumerated in this manner all the Qorayshite families—God has commanded me to admonish my kinsmen; and I bring no luck for you in this life, nor salvation in the life to come, unless you pronounce the words "There is no God but the God." Abú Lahab said, "Mayst thou be bereft of the remainder of thy days! is that what thou calledst us for?" On this occasion the Súrah was revealed, which begins, "Destruction on the hands of Abú Lahab."

Mo*h*ammad now formally separated himself from the polytheists, and condemned their religion, exposing the folly of worshipping idols, which "can do neither good nor harm." He used the bitterest invectives against his adversaries, and went so far as to declare that their and his own fathers, having died in idolatry, were undergoing eternal punishment in hell. These declarations, and above all the progress of the new sect, which roused the jealousy of the aristocracy of Makkah, caused his enemies to combine, and to act more systematically. They were joined by men of moderate councils, like 'Otbah and Shaybah, two sons of al-Raby'ah, and by Abú Sofyán, who appears henceforth as the leader of the Qorayshites.

It has been observed in the preceding pages, that the life and property of an Arab is guaranteed solely by his kinsmen and their allies. He could therefore only have been coerced by his family in the same manner as Zayd was put under restraint by his relations (see p. 43). At all events, they might

have threatened him, that if he would not desist from his innovations, they would withhold their protection from him; but Abú *T*álib his uncle considered it inconsistent with his honor to pursue such a course. He, on the contrary, promised him his protection; and his brothers and cousins the Mo*t*-*t*alibites stood by him, though most of them, like Abú *T*álib, remained faithful to the religion of their fathers. It was honor alone which bound them to their most sacred engagement: to guarantee the fullest liberty to their kinsmen, a duty which was in their eyes infinitely more imperative than religion. The Qorayshites could therefore take no violent measures against the prophet, unless they were prepared to exterminate his whole family. Abú Bakr, and apparently others of his followers, were similarly situated; their families thought it their duty to protect their lives.[1] The enemies of the new religion sent a deputation to Abú *T*álib, to represent to him that his nephew was speaking in blasphemous terms of their gods and religion; that he was accusing them of folly; and that he maintained that their fathers were condemned to eternal punishment; and they tried to prevail on him either to force Mo*h*ammad to relinquish this course, or to give him up to them. Abú *T*álib gave them an evasive answer. After some time they again waited upon him, and threatened that

(1.) "First were seven persons who publicly professed the Islám: the prophet, Abú Bakr, Bilál, Khabbáb, Çohayb, 'Ammár and Somayyah the mother of 'Ammár. The prophet was protected by his uncle, and Abú Bakr by his family; but the other five persons (being freed slaves) were without protection, and were ill-treated." Wáqidy, in the account of Bilál.

The clans did not protect those of their number, who had joined Mo*h*ammad, against *ill-treatment;* but they protected their lives. Ibn Is*h*áq relates that the Makhzúmites came to Hishám b. al-Walyd b. al-Moghyrah, who was a most violent adversary of Mo*h*ammad, and demanded that he should give up his brother al-Walyd, who had embraced the Islám. He readily complied with their wish, and allowed them to ill-treat him to any extent. But he added, "Take care do not put him to death; if you do, I kill one of your chiefs, and unceasing war shall rage between us and you." The Bedouin notions of honor demand the protection of the lives of their clansmen only. It is certain that had the Qorayshites killed Mo*h*ammad, so many of his followers would have sacrificed their lives that most of the families of Makkah would have had to revenge the blood of a relative against his enemies, and that the latter would have been the losers.

if he would not comply with their wishes, they would go to extremes. They concluded their speech with the words: "We will no longer bear his blasphemy towards our gods, nor his insults towards us; if thou givest him protection, we will fight with him and with thee, until one of the two parties shall have been extinguished." Abú *T*álib was much grieved that he should live on such terms with his countrymen; and he sent for Mo*h*ammad, and explained to him into what a disagreeable situation he had brought him, and to what danger he had exposed him and the whole family. The prophet thought that his uncle would yield to necessity, and withhold his protection from him; and he said, "By God, O uncle, if they put the sun to my right side and the moon to my left, I will not give up the course which I am pursuing until God gives me success, or until I perish." Abú *T*álib was moved, and assured him that he would not surrender him, whatever he might preach.

Among the followers of the prophet were representatives of most of the families of Makkah; and his enemies could not count on much assistance, if they were to rush into civil war. They went therefore a third time to Abú *T*álib, and offered to give him 'Omárah b. al-Walyd, a youth of good family and prepossessing appearance, in exchange for Mo*h*ammad, whom they wished to put to death. To Europeans such an offer must appear preposterous and incredible. But the strength of a family consisted in its numbers, and the position and safety of an individual depended on the strength of his family. The loss or accession of an active young man to a clan was therefore a matter of great consideration. Abú *T*álib refused this offer with scorn, and the Qorayshites left, repeating their threats. On the evening of the same day, Mo*h*ammad was missing. Abú *T*álib assembled the young men of the families of Háshim and al-Mo*tt*alib, and told them to take their swords and to follow him to the Ka'bah. Every one was to single

out one of the chiefs of the Qorayshites, and at a given sign they were to fall upon them by surprise, and to dispatch them. They all agreed, though they were not followers of the Islám; but when they were on the point of carrying out their plan, Zayd b. *H*árithah came to Abú *T*álib, and assured him that Mo*h*ammad was alive. Abú *T*álib swore that he would not return to his house before he had seen him. Zayd hastened to the prophet, who was concealed, with his followers, in a house near the Çafá (viz. the house of al-Arqam), to inform him of what was going on. Ma*h*ommed went to Abú *T*álib, and assured him that he had not been injured. Abú *T*álib told him that he might go to his own house, and that he would stand for his safety. The next morning he came to the prophet, took him by the hand and went with him to the place where the Qorayshites were assembled, followed by the Hàshimites and Mo*tt*alibites; and he said to them, Qorayshites, do you know what my intentions were? He told his followers to uncover their swords, which they had concealed under their clothes, and continued to say, "Had Mo*h*ammad been killed, not one of you would have been spared. We and you would have rushed into destruction." When the chiefs saw that, they were all thunderstruck, more particularly Abú Jahl.[1]

This determined attitude of Abú *T*álib deterred the Qorayshites from attempting the life of Mo*h*ammad. Each tribe now tormented those of its members, who were suspected of being his followers. Even men of wealth and importance did not escape insults and imprisonment; but the weight of the persecution fell chiefly on Mostadha'ifs,[2] that is to say, persons without protection; they starved them, refused them water, beat them, and threw them at noon on the hot sand un-

(1.) Wáqidy. This author speaks only of one deputation of the Qorayshites to Abú *T*álib. Ibn Is*h*áq mentions three.

(2.) "The Mostadha'ifún were persons who had no relatives at Makkah, and were without protection or power. The Qorayshites therefore tortured them, &c." Wáqidy, fol. 227.

der a scorching sun, and inflicted every imaginable torture upon them, until they nearly expired. Most of them denied their faith and worshipped al-Lát and al-'Ozzá. Among the few who had fortitude enough to bear the tortures were Bilál, who was protected by Abú Bakr, and Sommayyah, a slave woman, who was stabbed by Abú Jahl, and who died the first martyr of the Islám.

Abú Jahl was the arch enemy of the new religion. If a man of a good family, who could count on the protection of his kinsmen, embraced it, he blamed and insulted him, saying: "Thou hast forsaken the religion of thy fathers; we shall henceforth consider thee as a fool; we shall place no weight on thy councils, and we shall treat thee like an out-cast of society." If the new convert was a merchant, he would say: "We shall ruin thy commerce and thy property;" and if he happened to be a mostadha'if, he beat him, and encouraged others to do the same.[1]

At length persecution ran so high, and so many apostatized, that Mo*h*ammad advised some of his followers to leave Makkah, lest his whole flock might desert him. "In Abyssinia" he said, "rules a pious and just king; his country is in a flourishing condition, and it is one of the most profitable markets of our tribe; Abyssinia is your refuge." Eleven men and four women, most of them of good families,[2] manag-

(1.) Ibn Is*h*áq.

(2.) The persons who emigrated on this occasion to Madynah are: 1. 'Othmán b, Affán; 2. His wife Roqayyah, a daughter of the prophet; 3. Abú Hodzayfah b. 'Otbah, of the 'Abd Shams family; 4. his wife Sahlah, daughter of Sohayl b. 'Amr; 5. al-Zobayr b. al-'Awwám, an Asadite; 6. Moç'ab b. 'Omayr b. Háshim (thus write Ibn Is*h*áq and Wáqidy, but *T*abary writes Hishám) b. 'Abd Manáf b. Abd al-dár; 7. 'Abd al-Ra*h*mán b. 'Awf, a Zohrite; 8. Abú Salamah b. 'Abd al-Asad (thus write Wáqidy and Ibn Is*h*áq, but *T*abary has 'Abd al-Ashhal), a Makhzúmite; 9. his wife Omm Salmah, a daughter of Abú Omayyah b. al-Moghyrah b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Omar b. Makhzúm; 10. 'Othmán b. Matz'ún; 11. '*A*mir b. Raby'ah, of the tribe of 'Anz b. Wáyil; 12. his wife Laylá; 13. Abú Sabarah b. Aby Rohm b. 'Abd al-'Ozzá '*A*miry; 14. *Há*t*ib* b. 'Amr—according to some he was the first who proceeded to Abyssinia; 15. Sohayb b. Baydhá, of the bany al-*H*árith b. Fihr; 16. 'Abd Allah b. Mas'úd (Ibn Is*h*áq omits this name, but it is in *T*abary, who has two isnáds for his list, and in Wáqidy.) Ibn Is*h*áq says that the chief of the emigrants was 'Othmán b. Matz'ún.

ed, in the month of Rajab, the fifth year after the prophet had entered on his office, and the second after he had publicly proclaimed himself a prophet, to escape from Makkah without being noticed, some of them riding, and some on foot. They safely reached the port of Sho'aybah, near the modern Joddah, where they found two vessels destined for commerce, which took them over the Red Sea for half a dynar. The Qorayshites pursued them to the sea shore, but could not overtake them. The Najáshy, or king of Abyssinia, received them with the utmost hospitality. This is called the first hijrah, or emigration to Abyssinia.[1]

After they had been two months in Abyssinia they received the intelligence that the Makkians had in a body embraced the religion of Mo*h*ammad. The following was the source of this rumour.

In the month of Ramadhán, he went to the Ka'bah, where he found many persons assembled, and read to them the 53rd Súrah of the Qorân:—"By the star when it passeth away, your countryman does not err; nor he is led astray, in what he preaches; he has not his own way, but a revelation he does say; a mighty one, of great sway, personally appeared to him in open day, where there rises the sun's ray; high in the sky, he did fly; then he drew nigh in his array, and only two bows' distance from him he did stay, that the revelations, which he had to say, he might to his servant convey. How can Mo*h*ammad's heart a falsehood state? Why

(1.) There is a great confusion regarding the two flights to Abyssinia. The facts mentioned in the following passage of the '*Oyún alathar*, which clears up the difficulties, seem to me to be well founded. "There were two emigrations to Abyssinia: the first time 12 men and 4 women emigrated. They returned to Makkah when they heard that a conciliation had taken place. But being again very ill-treated they emigrated a second time to the number of 83 men, provided 'Ammar was of the party, and 18 women. The Qorayshites twice sent messengers to the Najáshy, the first time after the flight to Abyssinia, and the second time after the battle of Badr. In both instances 'Amr b. al-'Áç was one of the messengers; in the first instance he was accompanied by 'Omárah b. al-Walyd, and the second time by 'Abd Allah b. Aby Raby'ah."

do you with him on his vision debate? He saw him another time, in the same state; at the sidrah tree of the limit he did wait; there to the garden of repose is the gate; and whilst the tree was covered, with what at the top of it hovered, Mo*h*ammad attentively looked, and his eyes from the sight did not deviate; for he saw the greatest of the signs of his Lord. *Do you see al-Lát, and al-'Ozzá, and Mánah, the third idol of yours? they are sublime swans,*[1] *and their intercession will be of use to you before the Lord," &c.* The Qorayshites it seems partly believed in his nightly journey to Jerusalem, and in the apparition which he relates in this Súrah; and they were highly delighted that he acknowledged their gods; and therefore when he prostrated himself they followed his example. The old al-Walyd b. al-Moghyrah, who could not bend himself so as to touch the ground with his forehead, took up a handful of earth and touched his forehead with it, to express that he followed the same rites as Mo*h*ammad. And the whole congregation said, "We never doubted that it is the God, who is the Lord of life and death, and who has created every thing and preserves every thing; but our idols intercede for us with God, and if thou allow of what is due to them, we are with thee."[2] The news of the conciliation between Mo*h*ammad and the Qorayshites spread rapidly, and when they reached Abyssinia the refugees hastened to return to their homes and families; but in the month of Shawwál of the same year, when they had arrived within a short distance

(1.) "Ghornúq, swan, is the name of a water bird; it also means a delicate white youth. They were of opinion that the idols brought them nearer to God and interceded for them; they therefore compared them with birds, who rise towards heaven and ascend."—*Mawáhib allad.*

(2.) Ibn Hishám has omitted this story in his text of Ibn Is*h*áq, (without however filling up or polishing off the lacua); and therefore it has been omitted or denied by most later writers. But it was in the copy of Ibn Is*h*áq which *T*abary used; it is in Wáqidy; and *T*abary in addition to Ibn Is*h*áq quotes another authority. The authenticity of the story has been proved most learnedly by the author of the *Mawáhib alladon.* See my article on *T*abary in the *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal,* 1850, No. 2., where the passage from the *Mawáhib* is inserted.

of Makkah, they met some men of the Kinánah tribe riding on camels. They asked them how matters stood in the city? and they said, "Mo*h*ammad had recognized the gods of the Qorayshites; and a conciliation had taken place; but the following day he repented and said, that the verse referring to the idols had been prompted to him by the devil, and he rescinded it; and since that time the Qorayshites are more violently opposed him than they ever were before." They were much alarmed at these news, yet after consultation they proceeded into the city. They all went to some friend as guests, and by these means obtained his protection, it being the duty of the host to protect his guest. Only Ibn Mas'úd neglected to take this precaution; and after a very short stay at Makkah he again took flight to Abyssinia.

These inconsistencies[1] of the Messenger of God may shake the faith of the true believer; and if they were not so well authenticated they might appear in his eyes as scandals and inventions of the enemies of his religion; but they impress those, who consider the Qorân as the work of Mo*h*ammad, with a more favorable notion of his character than his other actions are likely to do. By deviating from his conviction only to the extent to which several truly pious Christian missionaries did not scruple to go, he might have extricated himself from all persecutions and difficulties, the end of which he could then not foresee; and he might at once have placed himself at the head of his nation; but he disdained to gain this victory at the sacrifice of his conviction, and declared that the devil had prompted to him the objectionable verses. This is the strongest proof of the sincerity of Mo*h*ammad during the

(1.) About the same time he compromised himself in a similar manner. One day he was walking round the Ka'bah, and being insulted by the Qorayshites who were assembled there, he said, "Listen, Qorayshites; I swear by Him in whose hands my life is, that God has commanded me to permit that the sacrifices (which you are in the habit of offering) shall continue." They were all delighted, and the bitterest opponents were now loudest in his praise; but the following day they repented and doubled their insults.—Ibn Is*h*áq.

beginning of his career. The beginning of the 80th Súrah of the Qorân breathes a similar spirit, and belongs to the same period. God reprehends him for turning away from a poor blind man, Ibn Omm Maktúm, who was sincerely anxious for instruction, whilst he was engaged in conversation with al-Walyd b. al-Moghyrah, one of the chiefs of Makkah.

But towards the end of his career it was no longer his own conscience, but his more sincere friends, who saved him from compromise: Zamakhshary[1] relates: "The Thaqyfites said to the prophet, we will not submit to thy orders unless thou grantest us certain privileges, of which we may boast before other Arabs, viz. that we shall pay no tithes, that we shall not be obliged to go to war for the religion, nor to prostrate ourselves in praying: that usury which we may make on others be our property, but usury which others make on us be void; and that we shall have the idol al-Lát one year longer, and not be obliged to break it with our own hands at the expiration of the year; and that thou shalt defend us against any one who may invade our valley of Wajj, or attempt to cut down our trees; and if the Arabs ask thee, Why hast thou made this agreement? Say, God has ordered me to enter into it. They brought him the deed, and he dictated: "In the name of the most merciful God, this is the document of agreement between Mo*h*ammad, the messenger of God, and the Thaqyfites, that they shall not be called upon to pay the tithes, nor to assist in war." When this was written they said, 'and not prostrate themselves.' The prophet remained silent, and they said to the writer, Write! 'and not prostrate themselves.' The writer looked at the prophet. 'Omar stood up and drew his sword, and said, You have filled the heart of our prophet with contagion; may God fill your hearts with fire! They replied, We are not talking to thee; we are speaking with Mo*h*ammad. Then the verse of the Qo-

(1.) *Kashsháf* to 17, 75.

rân 17, 75 was revealed. 'They nearly succeeded in misleading thee from what we have revealed to thee, and in causing thee to invent something else in our name; but at the right moment a friend reprehended thee.' "

In the sixth year after the mission two very important conversions took place: that of the *H*amzah, an uncle of the prophet, who was of the same age as himself, and who on account of his bravery is called the Lion of God; and that of 'Omar, the son of Kha*tt*áb, who was only twenty six years old.

One day on his return from hunting, a freed slave woman of Ibn Jo'dán accosted *H*amzah and said: I wish you had heard the abuses and seen the ill-treatment which your nephew Mo*h*ammad received at the hands of Abú Jahl. *H*amzah became very angry, and went up to Abú Jahl, who was sitting with other Qorayshites at the Ka'bah, and struck him with the bow on the head saying, "You dare to ill-treat him? I follow his religion; and profess what he professes; return the blow which I have given you if you dare." The members of the Makhzûm tribe who were there rose to assist Abú Jahl; but he said, Leave him, for I have really abused his nephew very badly.

The conversion of 'Omar took place in the month of Dzúl*h*ajj. He like St. Paul had been the most bitter enemy of the Islám, and became its most zealous apostle. With the resolution to murder Mo*h*ammad, whatever might be the consequences, he put on his sword and went to the house of al-Arqam at the foot of the hill of Çafá, in which the prophet was staying surrounded by his disciples, whose number amounted to about fifty.[1] On the road he met a man of the Zohrah tribe. He asked him where he was going, and 'Omar informed him of the object of his walk. "Do you think" said the Zohrite, "that the children of Háshim and of Zohrah will

(1.) Nawawy *Biogr. Dict.* voce 'Omar. See also Wáqidy.—Those who preceded 'Omar in his conversion have all been ennumerated above.

spare you, if you kill their kinsman?" "From what you say," replied 'Omar, "it strikes me that you have become an apostate from our religion." The Zohrite answered, It is much more extraordinary that your own sister and brother-in-law should have apostatized." On hearing this 'Omar went straight to the house of his brother-in-law. Fá*t*imah the sister of 'Omar was married to Sa'yd, a son of Zayd the sceptic, who had prepared the path for Mo*h*ammad. Sa'yd and his wife were both descended from the same family, called 'Adyy, and had had opportunities from chidhood to imbibe purer notions on religion. When 'Omar approached their house Khabbáb was in their company, and they were engaged in reading the 20th Súrah of the Qorân. 'Omar heard them and asked, "What were you muttering just now?" "We were engaged in conversation." "I fear," replied 'Omar, "You have apostatized." His brother-in-law said, "Supposing another religion should be the true one, where would be the harm?" On hearing this 'Omar rushed upon him, and Fá*t*imah came to the assistance of her husband. Her brother struck her so hard that she bled. She became angry and said, "Yes; another religion is the true one; and I bear witness that there is no God but the God, and that Mo*h*ammad is the prophet of God." 'Omar was moved when he saw her bleeding; and as he was in the habit of reading books, he asked her to show him the book from which they had been chanting. She refused to give it to him before he had washed himself. He complied, and when he had read fourteen verses, he said, Show me where Mo*h*ammad is. Khabbáb, who had concealed himself when 'Omar entered, came now forth and conducted him to the house of al-Arqam, where he pronounced the profession of faith. The accession of 'Omar, who by his energy commanded fear and respect at Makkah, was a great triumph for the Islám. Hitherto the faithful were obliged to conceal themselves when they said their prayers; but

henceforth they assembled publicly at the Ka'bah to attend to their devotions. After his conversion the number of followers appears to have been doubled in a very short time. 'Omar had the sway in the councils of Mo*h*ammad, and the prophet himself conscious of his weakness gave in to him in all practical questions.

The persecution of the Islám increased in proportion to its success. At length its enemies agreed to remove Mo*h*ammad, who was the cause of all these evils. They offered to his family to pay them the price of blood double if they would promise not to revenge his death, and to hire an assassin who might not belong to the Qorayshite tribe. The Háshimites rejected every offer, and the family of al-Mo*tt*álib b. 'Abd Manáf continued to stand by them. But they found it necessary to draw close together for the protection of their own persons, and in the Mo*h*arram of the seventh year after the mission, they retired to the Shi'b or quarter of the town of the Háshimites[1] for mutual protection. Most of the faithful who lived in other parts of the town than the Shi'b emigrated to Abyssinia. This is the second emigration,[2] in which one hundred

(1.) It appears from Burckhardt's description of Makkah (Travels in Arab. pp. 185, 186, 225, and 232), that the quarters of that city which stretch along the foot of the hill of Abú Qobays are called sha'b (or shi'b ?) the most southern is now called sha'b 'Alyy. Qo*t*b aldyn says in reference to this name, that the birth-place of 'Alyy is in a sha'b called sha'b 'Alyy. The continuation of the Sha'b 'Ally is called Sha'b almawlid, that is to say, the Sha'b in which Mo*h*ammad was born; and the most northern quarter is called Sha'b 'Ámir. In ancient times the sha'b Alyy and sha'b almawlid together were called sha'b bany Háshim, that is to say, the sha'b inhabited by the Háshimites. It is said in the *Tarykh Khamys*—"The prophet was born in the street called the street of the Mawlid, birth-place, which is situated in a sha'b called the sha'b of the Banú Háshim;" and Fásy places the birth-place of 'Alyy in the same sha'b, only somewhat higher up.

(2.) Wáqidy places the second emigration into Abyssinia previous to the confinement of the Háshimites in the shi'b. But he says in the life of 'Omar, that in the eleventh month of the sixth year the number of faithful amounted to about 50 persons; and in fol. 39 he says 101 persons emigrated to Abyssinia, and besides those some Musalmans remained at Makkah. It is not likely that in less than two months, (for the confinement of the Háshimites, he tells us, took place in the first month of the seventh year), so many persons should have been converted. I follow, therefore, the *'Oyún alathar,* though it differs from most other authorities.

and one persons took part.[1] They were again well received by the king. Forty one of them joined their prophet at Ma-

(1.) Ibn Is*h*áq and Abú *H*átim give the following names of emigrants: a) Háshimites: 1. Ja'far b. Aby Tálib; 2. his wife Asmá, who gave birth in Abyssinia to 'Abd Allah. b.) Omayyides: 3. 'Othmán b. 'Affán; 4. his wife Roqayyah; 5. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. al-'Áç b. Omayyah; 6. his wife Fá*t*imah; 7. his brother Khálid; 8. his wife Omaynah or Homaynah, who gave birth in Abyssinia to Sa'd, and to a daughter called Amat; 9. 'Abd Allah b. Ja*h*sh; 10. his brother 'Obayd Allah; 11. Omm *H*abybah, wife of 'Obayd Allah and daughter of Abú Sofyán; 12. Qays b. 'Abd Allah, of the banú Asad b. Khozaymah; 13. his wife Barakah, a freed slave woman of Ábú Sofyán; 14. Mo'ayqyb, a Dawsite, and a client of the family of Sa'd b. al-'Áç. c) Of the banú 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manáf: 15. Abú Hodzayfah b. 'Otbah; 16. Abú Músá Ash'ary. d) Of the banú Nawfal b. 'Abd Manáf: 17. 'Otbah b. Ghazwán, a confederate of this family. e) Of the banú Asad b. 'Abd al-'Ozzá b. Qoçayy: 18. al-Zobayr b. al-Awwám; 25. his nephew al-Aswad b. Nawfal b. Khowaylid; 19. Zayd b. Zam'ah b. al-Aswad b. al-Mo*t*-*t*alib b. Asad; 20. 'Amr b. Omayyah b. al-*H*árith b. Asad. f) Of the banú 'Abd b. Qoçayy: 21. *T*olayb b. 'Omayr b. Wahb b. Aby Kathyr b. 'Abd. g) Of the banú 'Abd aldár b. Qoçayy: 22. Moç'ab b. 'Omayr b. *H*áshim b. 'Abd Manáf b. 'Abd aldár; 23. Sowaybi*t* b. Sa'd b. *H*oraymilah or *H*armalah b. Málik b. 'Omaylah b. al-Sabbáq b. 'Abd aldár; 24. Jahm b. Qays b. 'Abd b. Shora*h*byl (or according to two copies 'Abd Shora*h*byl omitting ibn) b. Háshim; 25. his wife Omm *H*armalah; 26—27. their son 'Amr and their daughter Khozaymah or Khozámah; 28. Abú b. Dawm, (according to one copy Abu-l-Rúm) b. 'Omayr b. Háshim; 29. Firás b. al-Nadhr b. al-*H*árith b. Kaldah b. 'Alqamah b. 'Abd Manáf. h) Of the Zohrites: 30. 'Abd al Ra*h*mán b. 'Awf; 31. 'Ámir b. Aby Waqqáç Málik; 32. Mo*tt*alib b. Azhar b. 'Abd 'Awf; 33. his wife Ramlah, who gave birth in Abyssinia to 'Abd Allah; 34. 'Abd Allah b. Mas'úd; 35. his brother 'Otbah; 36. Miqdád b. 'Amr (though 'Amr was his father, he was called Miqdád b. al-Aswád. The last named three persons were confederates of the Zohrites.) i) Of the banú Taym b. Morrah: 37. al-Hárith b. Khálid (Khold ?) b. Çakhr b. 'Ámir b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym; 38. his wife Ray*t*ah, who gave birth in Abyssinia to Músá, to 'Áyishah, Zaynab and Fá*t*imah; 39. 'Amr b. 'Othmán b. 'Amr b. Ka'b. k) Of the Makhzúmites: 40. Abú Salimah 'Abd Allah; 41. his wife Omm Salimah Hind; 42. Shammás (i. e. 'Othmán) b. 'Othmán b. al-Tharyd; 43. Habbár b. Sofyán b. 'Abd alasad; 44. his brother 'Abd Allah; 45. Hishám b. Aby *H*odzayfah b. al-Moghyrah; 46. Salamah b. Hishám b. al-Moghyrah (in the 'Oyún alathar this name is omitted); 47. 'Ayyásh b. Aby Raby'ah b. al-Moghyrah; 48. Mo'attib b. 'Awf. l) Of the Joma*h*ites: 49. 'Othmán b. Matz'úm; 50. his son al-Sáyib; 51—52. his brothers Qodámah and 'Abd Allah, sons of Matz'úm; 53. Há*t*ib b. al-*H*árith; 54. his wife Fá*t*imah; 55. his brother *Hatt*áb; 56. his wife Fokayhah; 57. Sofyán b. Ma'mar; 58—59. his two sons Jábir and Jonádah; 60. his wife *H*asanah; 61. her son Shora*h*byl b. 'Abd Allah; 62. 'Othmán b. Raby'ah b. Ohbán. m) Of the banú Sahm: 63. Khonays b. *H*odzáfah; 64—65. his brothers Qays and 'Abd Allah; 66. Abú Qays b. al-Hárith b. Qays; 67. his brother al-*H*árith; 68. his brother Ma'mar; 69. his brother Bishr; 70—71. his brothers Sa'd and al-Sáyib; 72. their maternal brother Sa'd b. 'Amr, a Tamymite; 73. 'Omayr b. Riyáb *H*odzayfah; 74. Makhmiyah b. al-Jaz, or al-*H*azz, a confederate of the family; 75. Ma'mar b. 'Abd Allah b. Nadhalah; 76. 'Orwah b. 'Abd al-'Ozzá; 77. 'Ádyy b. Nadhalah; 78. his son al-No'mán; 79. 'Ámir b. Raby'ah, a confederate of the family of al-Khattáb b. 'Anz b. Wáyil; 80. his wife Laylá; 81. Abá Sabrah b. Aby Rohm; 82. 'Abd Allah b. Makhramah; 83. 'Abd Allah b. Johayl; 84. Solay*t* b. 'Amr; 84. his brother al-Sakrán; 85. his

dynah as soon as they heard of his flight, and the others remained until he applied to the Najáshy to send them back to him. The king sent them in two ships to the coast of Bawlá, and thence they proceeded by land to Madynah, which they reached immediately after the conquest of Khaybar.

The Abyssinians seem, among all the neighbouring nations, to have exercised the greatest influence on the rise of the Islám. We have seen above that Zayd, the freed slave of Mo*h*ammad, was of Abyssinian origin; and from Sayú*t*y's list of the foreign words which occur in the Qorân, it appears that a great proportion, more particularly of the theological terms, is derived from the Abyssinian language. The following narrative of a lady, who was among the refugees, shows us the manner in which the Najáshy treated the Musalmans. "When we arrived in Abyssinia we were received as guests by the Najáshy. He treated us with the greatest hospitality. We followed our religion and worshipped God without being annoyed, and without having to hear any thing unpleasant. When the Qorayshites had been informed of our good reception, they consulted among themselves, and agreed to send two active men with presents. Among the presents was every thing that was exquisite at Makkah. The most precious article was red morocco leather, of which they sent a large quantity. They destined a separate present for every patrician. The two messengers were 'Abd Alláh b. Aby Raby'ah, and 'Amr b. al-'Áç. They had particular instructions to bribe the patricians *before* they mentioned to the Najáshy the object of their mission; then they were to give to the king the

wife Sawdah, a daughter of Zam'ah b. Qays; 86 his brother Málik; 87. his wife 'Amrah; 88. Abú *Há*t*ib* b. 'Amr; 89. Sa'd b. *H*awláh, of Yaman, a confederate of the family of the banú al-*H*árith b. Fihr; 90. Abú 'Obaydah b. al-Jarrá*h*, i. e. 'Ámir b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Jarra*h*; 91. Sohayl Ibn Baydhá, i. e. Sohayl b. 'Awf; 92. Amr b. Aby Sar*h*; 93. 'Ayyádh b. Zohyar; 94. his two nephews 'Amr b. al-Hárith b. Zohayr; 95. 'Othmán b. 'Abd Ghaum b. Zohayr; 96. Sa'd b. Abd Qays b. Loqay*t*; 97. his brother *H*árith; and according to some 98. Ammár b. Yásír.

presents destined for him, and to demand the extradition of the Musalmans, before they should be able to speak with him. On their arrival in Abyssinia they bribed the patricians, and obtained a promise that they would influence the king to expel the Musalmans. After this they laid their presents before the king himself, and being graciously received, they said, "O king, some silly young men of ours have taken refuge in your country. They have seceded from the faith of their fathers, yet they have not embraced your religion. They have invented a new doctrine, with which neither we nor you are acquainted. The chiefs of the Qorayshites, that is to say, their own nearest relations, have sent us to you to solicit their being surrendered to us. The chiefs are much more far-sighted and know better to judge on those matters, which these sectarians lay to their charge, than they." The patricians supported the two messengers, who were particularly anxious that they might be extraditioned before they could have an interview with the king. But the king became angry, and said, No, by God, I will not surrender them. They are my guests; they have taken refuge in my country; and they put confidence in me, and come hither in preference to taking refuge in any other place. Then he sent for them to hear what they had to say, and he also sent for the bishops. He asked them, What are the tenets, on account of which you seceded from the faith of you fathers, and remain aloof from other religions? Ja'far, a cousin of Mo*h*ammad, who was their spokesman, said, O king, we lived in ignorance, worshipped idols, ate animals that had died a natural death, committed fornication, violated the ties of consanguinity and the rites of hospitality, and the stronger oppressed the weak, until God sent us a prophet from among ourselves, with whose descent, veracity, good faith and morality of conduct we were all acquainted. This prophet preached to us the one God, whom we were to worship to the exclu-

sion of other gods, and he forbad us to worship stones or idols; and he enjoined us to speak the truth, keep good faith, assist our relations, fulfil the rights of hospitality, to abstain from fornication, and from impure and illicit things; and he prohibited untruth, living on the property of orphans, accusing chaste women of adultery, and acknowledging gods besides God. He also ordered us to say prayers, to give alms, and to fast. In this manner they enumerated the principal duties of the Islám. Then they continued, We believed in him, and followed him; but our countrymen persecuted us, exposed us to tortures, and tried to make us forsake our religion, to worship idols, and to commit what is sinful. To avoid the persecution we have taken refuge in your country, having particular confidence in you; and we have thrown ourselves under your protection. The King asked whether they had any of the revelations of Mo*h*ammad; and Ja'far read to him the beginning of the 19th Súrah, (which seems to have been written on purpose to please the Christians, for it contains a poetical account of the birth of John the Baptist, and of the conception of our Saviour). The King and the bishops were moved to tears when they heard this Súrah; and he dismissed the messengers of the Qorayshites. The next day he sent again for the Musalmans, at their instigation, and asked them what their faith was regarding Christ. Before they appeared before him, they had agreed to say, that their prophet had given them no information on this head. Ja'far, however, answered the King thus:—"We say that he is the servant and messenger of God, and the spirit and the word of God, which He has sent into the virgin Mary the immaculate." The King declared that Christ was nothing more than what he had said. He returned the presents and dismissed the messengers. The courtiers were much displeased that their master should allow the term servant to be applied to Christ; and shortly after the people rose in open rebellion

against him, and compelled him to profess that Christ was the Son of God. It is however said, that instead of pronouncing the words, Christ is the Son of God, he merely said, Christ is the son of Mary,—an expression frequently used by the Musalmans—and that his people were satisfied.[1]

The Qorayshites were much vexed that the Musalmans met with so favorable a reception from the King of Abyssinia; and in order to force the relations of Mo*h*ammad to withhold their protection, they entered into a formal agreement among themselves, to declare them out-laws;[2] no Qorayshite was to intermarry with a Háshimite, (i. e. a relation of the prophet), or to perform any mercantile transaction, or hold any intercourse whatsoever. The document of this agreement was preserved in the Ka'bah, or according to others in the house of an aunt of Abú Jahl, the arch foe of the prophet. The Háshimites were in the greatest distress: the Qorayshites refused to sell them provisions, or even to admit any into their quarter; and they by themselves were not strong enough to send and protect a caravan of their own. They could not even venture to leave their quarter of the town except during the annual pilgrimage; and if a caravan passed by, the necessaries of life were charged to them, at the instigation of the Qorayshites, at the most exorbitant prices.

It is said by most authors, that the man who had written the document declaring that the Háshimites were to be treated as out-laws, lost the use of his hand by a paralytic stroke;

(1.) Bokháry informs us that the prophet performed the funeral service when he heard of the death of the Najáshy.

(2.) Wáqidy states that the Háshimites retired to the Shi'b in consequence of this agreement; but according to the *Mawáhib* and the *'Oyún alathar* this agreement was drawn up after they had retired into the Shi'b. Some authorities say that they were three years confined in the Shi'b, and others say two. If the agreement was drawn up a full year after they had retired thither, both statements are correct. The Qorayshites again associated with the Háshimites in the tenth year of the mission.

and that the document itself was destroyed by worms, with the exception of the name of God, which stood in the initial sentence. We are further assured that the angel Gabriel informed the prophet of the destruction of the document. He communicated this revelation to Abú *T*álib, who went forthwith to the Qorayshites, and agreed to surrender his nephew that they might kill him, if, on opening the place where the document was preserved, it should turn out that his revelation was an invention; but that if it should prove correct, they were to raise the blockade, and again to receive them into their community. They found to their surprize that the document was destroyed, with the exception of the name of God; and this led to the conciliation.

Wáqidy informs us that many of the idolators were disgusted at the severity with which the protectors of Mo*h*ammad were treated; and it appears from Ibn Is*h*áq and *T*abary, that it was dissension among the enemies, which led to the dissolution of their league against them, and not a miracle.

Hishám b. 'Amr was one of the chiefs of the 'Ámir family. His mother was a Háshimite woman, and he was therefore closely connected with the family of the prophet. He spoke with four of his friends,[1] who were all leading men in their respective tribes; and obtained the promise that they would support him in his endeavours to annul the document. They assembled in the upper part of Makkah during the night, and consulted on the best plan of proceeding. The next day, when many of the Qorayshites were sitting near the Ka'bah, one of these four men began to declaim on the cruelty of their conduct towards the family of Mo*h*ammad; the others, as if they had been moved by the words of the speaker, and, as if there

(1.) They are Zohayr b. Aby Omayyah b. al-Moghyrah, of the Makhzúm family; Mot'im b. 'Adyy; Abú Bokhtary b. Hishám; and Zam'ah b. al-Aswad b. al-Mo*tt*alib b. Asad.

had been no preconcerted arrangement, came one by one to second him. The Qorayshites, thinking that the feelings expressed by the speaker were general, agreed to annul the document; and when they opened it they found it was destroyed by insects. This circumstance was magnified into a miracle; but people who have lived in a tropical climate will find nothing extraordinary in it.

Three years[1] before the Hijrah he lost his wife Khadyjah. She was sixty five years of age when she died, and was burried in al-*H*ajún. The death of her who had guided him in his speculations on religion, who first recognized him as a prophet, and who was his support in his trials, had the greatest influence on his mind. His enthusiasm now gradually cooled down; and imposture took its place.

Shortly after Khadyjah's death Khawlah, (or Khowaylah), daughter of *H*akym and wife of 'Othmán b. Matz'ún, came to the prophet, and asked him why he did not marry? He answered, whom shall I marry? She said, If thou wishest to have a virgin, take 'A'yishah the daughter of your friend Abú Bakr; and if you want a widow, take Sawdah the daughter of Zam'ah. She believes in thee. He instantly made up his mind, and replied, I marry them both.

Sawdah had been married to her cousin al-Sakrán b. 'Amr, by whom she had a son. Both she and her husband early embraced the Islám; and they emigrated to Abyssinia, where he died. After his death she returned to Makkah, and lived in the house of her father. According to some authorities her marriage with the Messenger of God took place within a month after the death of his first wife; it is more likely that two months[2] had elapsed. He fixed her dowry at four hundred dirhams.

'A'yishah was only six years of age when she was be-

(1.) Tabary says, two years.
(2.) All authors agree on the following points: 1. Khadyjah died after Abú

trothed to Mo*h*ammad, who was then a man of fifty. The actual marriage took place three years later, when she was nine years; and she was not yet full twenty years of age when he died. She was exceedingly clever and cheerful; and though we have proofs that she was not always faithful to her husband, her spirits were so great that she forgot her misery, and cheered him. Moreover, nothing less than to be the favorite wife of the prophet would have satisfied her ambition. He doted upon her; and notwithstanding the great disparity of age, she exercised great influence over him, and many of his arbitrary ordinances can be distinctly traced to her. When she was older she became one of the most artful, intriguing and cruel women that ever have disgraced her sex.

One month and five days after his wife he lost his uncle and protector, the noble minded Abú *T*álib, whose name is venerated by the Badowins of the *H*ijáz up to this day, on account of his high feelings of honor. When he was on his death-bed the prophet did all he could to persuade him of the truth of his doctrine, and to save his soul; and on the other hand, the enemies of the Islám made a last effort to prevail upon him to surrender his nephew, who had embittered the evening of his life; but he died faithful both to the religion of his fathers, and to his word and his duty towards his kinsman.

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*T*álib. 2. In Shawwál, three years before the flight, but after the death of Abú *T*álib, he went to *T*áyif, and he was about a fortnight absent from Makkah. 3. He married Sawdah after his return from *T*áyif. If, as Wáqidy says, thirty-five days elapsed between the deaths of Khadyjah and of Abú *T*álib, his marriage with Sawdah took place at least two months after the death of Khadyjah; but if, as Ibn Qotaybah asserts, only three days elapsed, it may have taken place sooner. The following details I transcribe from the *Mawáhib alludonnyyah,* without subscribing to them. "When he was 49 years and 8 months and 11 days of age died his uncle Abú *T*álib, at an age of 87 years. Some say he died in the middle of Shawwál of the tenth year (after Mo*h*ammad's mission); and Ibn Jazzáz (?) says three years before the Hijrah."—"In Ramadhán, ten years after his mission, died Khadyjah, after she had been married to him twenty-five years."

After these afflictions Mo*h*ammad was low spirited, and seldom went out. He was now without protection, and his enemies might have carried their plans of assassinating him into effect without much fear that his relations would like one man revenge his death, the man who had united them being no more. Under these circumstances Abú Lahab, the arch foe of his doctrine, but upon whom by the ties of relationship his protection devolved, came forward and said, "O Mo*h*ammad, go wherever thou pleasest, and do what thou usest to do when Abú *T*álib was alive; by al-Lát, no harm shall befall thee as long as I am alive." Ibn Ghay*t*alah insulted the prophet, and Abú Lahab reprimanded him for it. Ibn Ghay*t*alah said, "Abú Lahab has apostatized." "No," replied Abú Lahab before the assembled Qorayshites, "No; I have not left the religion of 'Abd al-Mo*tt*álib; but I protect my nephew against injuries, that he may enjoy his liberty." The Qorayshites praised him for his noble conduct, and approved of his protecting his relative. Some days after the enemies of the prophet asked Abú Lahab, "Do you know what your nephew says of your father? He asserts that he is in hell; and you protect such a person!" Abú Lahab asked him whether it was true; and he answered, "Your father died as an idolater; and every idolater goes to hell." On this Abú Lahab withdrew his protection from him. Towards the end of the Shawwál of the same year he went to *T*áyif, a city seventy two miles east of Makkah, to avoid the insults of his enemies, and in hopes to find converts. He visited every man of influence, and explained to them the doctrines of the Islám; but in vain. After a stay of ten days they turned him out, being afraid that he might turn the heads of young people; and the rabble pelted him with stones when he left their town.

On his way back to Makkah he remained several days at

Nakhlah, which is a short distance from the city, as it would not have been safe for him to enter the town without being protected by a resolute and powerful man. From Nakhlah he sent a Khozá'ahite to Mot'im b. 'Adyy, an idolater who had assisted in restoring the Háshimites to society when they were confined to their Shi'b, and solicited his protection. It was granted. Mot'im, his son, and relations, armed themselves, and went to the Ka'bah; and he exclaimed, "Mo*h*ammad is my guest; no one is to injure him." Meanwhile the prophet and his freed-slave Zayd, who had accompanied him, arrived at the Ka'bah. He kissed the black stone, and Mot'im was behind him on camel's back, and continued exclaiming, "Mo*h*ammad is my guest; no one is to hurt him." After that he and his family surrounded him, and brought him safely to his home.

At Nakhlah he composed one of the most fantastic and artful chapters of the Qorân, a circumstance which is mentioned by all his biographers. The reader would probably be much disappointed if he was to find no further account of the development of his mind and his schemes in this work than under what circumstances he composed the Súrah alluded to. It is the intention of the author to enter, in a separate volume, on the views and mode of teaching of Mo*h*ammad, by pointing out the chronological order of the Súrahs of the Qorân, with their special bearing and allusions; and he intends to give an analysis of his doctrine, and an account of the means which he employed to convince his followers; and above all, illustrations of the peculiarities of the mind of Mo*h*ammad, and of the spirit of the times as manifested in the Qorân, in the authentic traditions, and in his disputations with the adversaries of the Islám. The mind is the spring of action, and the ultimate cause of great events; and it is

therefore the mind—the spirit of the age—with which the reader wishes to become acquainted.

The ten years during which he preached the Islám publicly at Makkah, he attended the fairs of 'Okátz, Majannah, Dzú l-Majáz; he proceeded several stages to meet the pilgrims who came to the Ka'bah, and accompanied them again when they returned home, to convey to them the message with which he was charged by God, and to obtain their protection and assistance; and he promised that they would become the rulers of all foreign countries if they would assemble under his standards; but none of the tribes listened to his preaching.[1]

Mo*h*ammad had failed every where to convince a whole community of his divine mission; and some of those individuals, who had followed him, left him and embraced the Christian religion. His sect would probably have enjoyed but a short duration had not a singular circumstance favored its triumph in Madynah. A man of that city says,[2] "We were polytheists and idolaters; and the Jews who lived among us had a revealed book and possessed a knowledge which we had not. We were constantly at feud with them. Whenever we did any thing to them which they disliked, they said to us, The time is near when a prophet will come; and then we will slay you in the same manner in which the children of 'Ád and Iram have been slain. We had constantly to hear this tradition from them. When God sent his Messenger, and he called on us to embrace his faith, we listened to him, and found that there was some truth in their threats. We therefore anticipated them, and at once joined him;

(1.) The tribes to whom he preached the Islám, specified by Wáqidy, are the banú 'Ámir b. Ça'ça'ah, Mo*h*árib b. *H*afaçah (or Khafçah), Fazúrah, Ghassán, Morrah, *H*anyfah, Solaym, 'Abs, the banú Nadhr, the banú al-Bakká, Kindah, Kalb, al-*H*árith b. Ka'b, 'Odzrah, and al-Khadhárimah.

(2.) Ibn Is*h*áq and *T*abary.

whereas they did not believe in him. The verses 83 and 84 of the second Súrah of the Qorân refer to them and to us. 'When a book, (i. e. the Qorân) had come to them from God, which confirmed their Bible, and of which they knew, (that it would come), they did not recognise it, though they had previously expected victory over the unbelievers (through the worldly Messiah whom they expected). The curse of God falls on the unbelievers. It is a bad bargain for which they sold their souls by disbelieving the revelation of God, because he sent it in his mercy to whom he pleased, (i. e. to an Arab, and not to a Jew.[1])' "

We have seen that before Mo*h*ammad rose as a prophet, there was a circle of friends at Makkah, who had renounced the religion of their fathers, and who believed in the one God, and were anxiously seeking for a divine sanction of their faith. The same was the case at Madynah. Abú-l-Haytham Mâlik b. Tayyahân, of the Baly tribe, who lived at Madynah as a confederate of the Ahl aldâr, (i. e. the banú

(1.) Ibn Is*h*áq mentions also an individual case, in which the expectation of a Messiah of the Jews caused some men of Madynah to embrace the faith of Mo*h*ammad. " Salamah b. Salámah b. Waqsh, who fought at Badr (and died in A. H. 45, at an age of 70 years,) and was one of the seven first persons of Madynah who believed on Mo*h*ammad, said, We had a Jewish neighbour in the quarter of the Banú 'Abd al-Ashhal. One day he came to us. I was the youngest in the company, and was dressed in a bordah, (a kind of a shawl), on which I was lying down in the open space in front of our house. He spoke of the day of the resurection, of the resuscitation of the dead, of the last judgement of the balance, of paradise, and of the fire (hell), &c. Those present were all polytheists; they worshipped idols, and did not believe that we should be resuscitated after our death; and they said, Dost thou really believe that we shall be resuscitated after our death, and shall enter into a place where there is a garden and a fire, and where we shall be rewarded for what we have done? He said, Yes; by Him, by whom it is usual to swear, any one who is thrown into that fire would prefer to be in the hottest furnace in the world. He is cast into this fire, and shut up in it, so that he becomes like fire himself. They asked him, What is the sign of this? and he replied, A prophet is the sign or proof, who will be sent from this country. Saying so he pointed with his hand towards Makkah and Yaman. They asked him when he thought he would be sent; and looking at me, who was the youngest, he said, If this boy does not die prematurely he will live to see him. The narrator went his way; and by God, not twenty-four hours had elapsed before God sent his prophet. The Jew was still alive. We believed in him; but he did not believe, out of obstinacy and envy; and we said to him, Have you not yourself predicted to us the prophet? He answered, Yes; but this is not the one."

'Abd al-Ashhal), had given up idolatry, and used to converse with his friends, As'ad b. Zorárah[1] and Dzakwán b. 'Abd Qays, on the unity and nature of God, and other religious topics. The two last mentioned of these three men came two years and three months before the Hijrah[2] to Makkah. They heard some of the doctrines of Mohammad;[3] and Dzakwán said to As'ad, "This is precisely your creed;" and they went to the prophet and professed the Islám. On their return to Madynah As'ad related to Abú-l-Haytham, what they had heard and done, and he answered, "I declare to you that he is the Messenger of God." These were the first believers in Madynah.[4] According to other authorities there were three or five other men with them, who embraced the Islám at the same time.[5] The new sect spread rapidly in Madynah, and in a short time there was hardly a family in which there were not some professors of it.

The Arabs of Madynah were convinced that this was the Messiah, with whom the Jews had threatened them. They

(1.) This name is spelt Zorárah in the Qámús; but I believe it ought to be Zarárah.

(2.) In the first half of July, A. D. 620.

(3.) To create effect the biographers of Mohammad represent events as unexpected, which came about gradually. Thus after he had preached seven years, a a Christian, who had all the time been a resident of Makkah, was converted. Ibn Isháq says that he accidentally met Mohammad, and that he was struck by Mohammad's saying bismillah (in the name of God) before he ate some fruits; for the Christian concluded from this that he was not an idolater. He had never heard of his innovations! In like manner they say that these men from Madynah came to Makkah, where they heard Mohammad preaching to the pilgrims. Some authors would have it that they had never heard of him before. There is a tradition of 'Orwah in Tabary, which places these facts in a different light. "After the refugees had returned from Abyssinia the number of the faithful increased much; for many people of Madynah embraced the Islám, and it spread in that city; and the people of Madynah used to come to Makkah to the prophet," &c. This, the author continues saying, gave rise to the second great persecution, which ended with the flight of the faithful to Madynah.

(4.) Wáqidy.

(5.) Their names are: 1. Mo'adz b. 'Afrá; 2. Ráfi' b. Málik; 3. 'Obádah b. al-Çámit; 4. Abú 'Abd al-Rahmán Yazyd b. Tha'labah; and 4. Abú-l-Haytham b. al-Tayyahán. Others put, instead of Nos. 1, 3, 4, the names of 'Awf b. al-Hárith b. Afrá, Qotnah b. 'Ámir, 'Oqbah b. 'Ámir, Jábir b. 'Abd Alláh. They all were Khazrajites.—All traditions agree that As'ad b. Zorárah and al-Haytham b. al-Tayyahán were the founders and most zealous propagators of the Islám in Madynah, and they had abandoned the idols before Mohammad.

were glad to find that he was a gentile—a man of their own—and hastened to join his standard. Consequently during the next annual pilgrimage twelve men[1] met the prophet in the valley of 'Aqabah, formally to acknowledge him as their prophet, and to enter into a positive engagement; the form of which was: "We will not acknowledge a god beside the God; we will not steal; we will not commit fornication; we will not kill our children; we will not invent or give currency to falsehood; and we will not disobey the reasonable orders of the prophet." This is called the agreement of women, because it does not contain the duty of fighting for the Islám. In return he promised them paradise; and he sent one of his friends Moç'ab b. 'Omayr with them, to read to them the Qorân. Moç'ab had therefore the title of Moqry, Reader.

At the approach of the next annual pilgrimage the followers of Mo*h*ammad at Madynah visited and exhorted each other to join the ceremony, and to proceed to Makkah to meet their prophet, and to fulfil their duties towards him. The pilgrimage was attended by upwards of seventy Awsites, and five hundred Khazrajites. Some of the faithful from among them waited on the prophet soon after their arrival at Makkah, and it was arranged that they would meet him in the ravine to the right of the way, just below 'Aqabah, on the night succeeding the day in which the victims are killed, and on which the ceremonies in the valley of Miná, (where Aqabah is), being com-

(1.) They are: a) Of the banú Najjár: 1. As'ad b. Zorárah; 2. 'Awf; 3. his brother Mo'ádz b. al-*H*árith. These two men are better known by the name of sons of 'Afrá. b) Of the banú Zorayq: 4. Dzakwán b. 'Abd Qays; 5. Ráfi' b. Málik. c) Of the banú 'Awf b. al-Khazraj: 6. 'Obádah b. al-Çámit; 7. Abú 'Abd al-Ra*h*mán Yazyd b. Tha'labah b. Khazamah b. Açram of the Baly tribe, a confederate of the family. d) Of the banú 'Ámir b. 'Awf: 8. 'Abbás b. 'Obádah. e) Of the banú Salimah: 9. 'Oqbah b. 'Ámir. f) Of the banú Sawád: 10. Qo*t*nah b. 'Ámir. These ten men were of the Khazraj tribe, and only the remaining two were of the Aws tribe, viz: 11. Abú-l-Haytham b. al-Tayyahán, of the Baly tribe, a confederate of the Ahl aldár, i. e. the banú 'Abd al-Ashhal. He never believed in the idols, but worshipped the one God, and exerted himself early and powerfully to spread the Islám at Madynah. 12. 'Owaym b. Sá'idah, who was of the banú 'Amr b. 'Awf.

pleted, the procession returns to Makkah. He enjoined them to proceed thither quietly, and not to be too late; or, to use his own words, not to awake the sleeping and not to wait for the absent. About eleven o'clock at night they left their relatives one by one, or in pairs, and went to the appointed spot, where they found Mo*h*ammad waiting. With him was his uncle al-'Abbás, the son of 'Abd al-Mo*tt*alib. There were in all seventy two men[1] and two women of Madynah present.

(1.) Their names are: 1. Osayd b. *H*odhayr b. Simák b. 'Atyk b. Ráfi' b. Amru-l-Qays; 2. Abú-l-Haytham; 3. Salamah b. Salámah b. Waqsh; 4. *T*ohayr b. Ráfi' b. 'Ady b. Zayd b. Josham b. *H*árithah; 5. Abú Bordah Hány b. Nayyár, a Qodha'ahite; 6. Nohayr b. al-Haytham b. Náby b. Majda'ah. The last three men were of the family of al-Sawwáf b. Qays b. 'Ámir b. Náby b. Majda'ah. 7. Sa'd b. Haythamah b. al-*H*árith b. Málik b. Ka'b b. al-Na*hh*á*t* b. Ka'b b. *H*árithah b. *Ghanm* b. al Salm; 8. Rifá'ah b. 'Abd al-Mondzir; 9. 'Abd Allah b. Jobayr; 10. Ma'n b. 'Adyy b. al-Jadd b. al-'Ajlán, of the Bally tribe; 11. 'Owaym b. Sá'idah. The preceding eleven men are Awsites; the following are Khazrajites. 12. Abú Ayyúb Khálid b. Zayd; 13. Mo'ádz b. al *H*árith; 14. his brother 'Awf; 15. Ma'údz b. al-*H*árith; 16. 'Omárah b. *H*azm; 17. As'ad b. Zorárah b. 'Ods; 18. Sahl b. 'Atyk b. No'mán b. 'Amr b. 'Atyk; 19. Aws b. Thábit, a brother of *H*assán the poet, of the *H*odaylah family; 20. Abú *T*al*h*ah, of the same family; 21. Qays b. Abú Ça'ça'ah 'Amr; 22. 'Amr. b. Ghazyyah b. 'Amr b. 'A*t*yyah b. *H*ansá b. Mabdzúl; 23. Sa'd b. al-Raby' of the Bal*h*árith (he knew writing); 24. Khárijah b. Zayd b. Aby Zohayr; 25. 'Abd Allah b. Rawáhah; 26. Bashyr b. Sa'd (he knew writing); 27. 'Abd Allah b. Zayd b. Tha'labah b. 'Abd Rabbihi; (he knew writing, and he proposed to the prophet to call the faithful to prayers instead of using bells;) 28. Khallád b. Sowayd b. Tha'labah b. 'Amr b. *H*árithah b. Amrú-l Qays b. Málik al-Aghirr; 29. 'Oqbah b. 'Amr b. Tha'labah, (he was the youngest among those present;) 30. Ziyád b. Labyd; 31. Farwah b. 'Amr b. Wadzafah, (or Wadafah, according to Ibn Hishám); 32. Khálid b. Qays; 33. Ráfi' b. Málik b. al-'Ajlán b. 'Amr b. 'Ámir b. Zorayq; 34. Dzakwán b. 'Abd Qays b. Khaladah (or Khaldah) b. Mokhallad (or Makhlad) b. 'Ámir b. Zorayq; 35. 'Abbád b. Qays b. 'Ámir b. Khálid b. Mokhallad; 36. his brother al-*H*árith; 37. al-Bará b. Ma'rúr b. Çakhr; 38. his son Bashr; 39. Sinán b. Çayfy b. Çakhr b. Khansá; 40. al-*T*ofayl b. al-No'mán b. Khansá (or *H*ansá); 41. Mo'qil b. al-Mondzir; 42. his brother Yazyd; 43. Ma'úd b. Yazyd; 44. al-Dha*hh*ák b. *H*árithah b. Zayd; 45. Yazyd b. Khodzám; 46. Jabbár b. Çakhr b. Omayyah; 47. al-*T*ofayl b. Málik b. Khansá; 48. Ka'b b. Málik b. Aby Ka'b 'Amr b. al-Qyn; 49. Solaym b. 'Amr b. *H*adydah; 50. Qo*t*bah b. 'Amr b *H*adydah; 51. Yazyd b. 'Ámir b. *H*adydah; 52. Abú-l-Yasar Ka'b b. 'Amr b. 'Abbád; 53. Çayfy b. Sawád; 54. Tha'labah b Ghanamah b. 'Adyy b. Náby; 55. his brother 'Amr; 56. 'Abs b. 'Amr b. 'Adyy b. Náby; 57. 'Abd Allah, a Qodhá'ahite; 58. Khálid b. 'Amr b. 'Adyy b. Náby; 59. 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr b. *H*arám; 60. his son Jábir; 61. Mo'ádz b. 'Amr b. al-Jomú*h* b. Zayd; 62. Thábit b. al-Jadza'; 63. 'Omayr b. al-*H*árith b. Labbadah; 64. Khady*h* b. Salámah, of the Bally tribe; 65. Mo'ádz b. Jabal; 66. 'Obádah b. Çámit; 67. al-'Abbás b. 'Obádah b. Nadhlah; 68. Abú 'Abd al-Ra*h*mán Yazyd b. Tha'labah b. Khazmah (or Khazamah,) of the family of 'Oçaybah, of the Bally tribe; 69. 'Amr b. al-*H*árith b. Labbadah b. 'Amr b. Tha'labah; 70. Rifá'ah b. 'Amr, of the *H*oblá family; 71. 'Oqbah b.

Al-'Abbás was an idolater; but he had come as the natural protector of his nephew; and he therefore opened the proceedings by saying, "O Khazrajites! you have invited Mo*h*ammad, as you know. You are aware of the position which he occupies among us, and that both those who believe in him and those who do not believe him joined to protect him in his native town. But now he intends to give up this protection, and to go to you, and to live with you. If you think you will keep to your word, and protect him against his enemies, your wish be done; fulfil what you undertake. But if you intend to surrender and to betray him, after he may have joined you, give him up now; for he is protected in his own country." They assured him of the sincerity of their intention and their good faith, and requested Mo*h*ammad to say under what conditions he would join them. He read prayers out of the Qorân, and exhorted them; and then he said, "I join you under the condition that you defend me against that, from which you defend your wives and children." Their elder and spokesman al-Bará now took his hand and swore solemnly the oath of allegiance: "By him, who has in truth sent thee, we will protect thee even as we protect our family! Come to us, and receive us as thy lieges, O Messenger of God!" After this oath he continued, "O Messenger of God, we are men of war and of unanimity; we have inherited these qualities from our ancestors." Here he was interrupted by Abú-l-Haytham, who said, "O prophet! there exist treaties between us and certain people, (he meant the Jews of Madynah); we will break through them; but will you return to your own tribe whilst we are doing this? After this God will render your cause victorious." Mo*h*ammad answered, "Our honor and interests are the same; you are of me, and I am you of you; I will fight whom you fight, and I will live

Wahb, of the tribe Bohthah b. 'Abd Allah b. Gha*t*afán; 72. Sa'd b. 'Obádah b. Dolaym; 73. al-Mondzir b. 'Amr, of the Sá'idah family.

in peace with whom you live in peace;" (that is to say, I will respect your treaties.)[1] Having received the oath of allegiance from all present, he told them to elect twelve leaders (noqabá), who should fill the same office as the apostles of Christ and the elders of the tribes of the children of Israel. According to Wáqidy, he nominated them himself, and said, "Those who have not been elected must not feel offended, for I was guided in my choice by the angel Gabriel."

Notwithstanding the precaution, which the Musalmans had taken to keep the meeting secret, their proceedings were watched, and the next day the leading men of the Qorayshites came into the camp of the pilgrims of Madynah. By far the majority of the latter were idolaters, and knew nothing of the meeting of the preceding night; and therefore when the Qorayshites questioned them regarding it, they answered that they were in perfect ignorance of any such transaction, and denied that there was any foundation for their assertion. Those of them who were Musalmans remained silent. The Qorayshites were obliged to content themselves with ill-treating one of the Musalmans of Madynah, whom they caught with only one comrade, who on their approach ran away.

Mo*h*ammad had now conspired with another tribe against his own, and his followers were implicated in this act of high treason.[2] The persecution at Makkah rose therefore to the highest pitch; and we can only wonder that, since they had

(1.) The above is translated literally from Ibn Is*h*áq. I followed his authority in preference to that of Wáqidy, who differs in some details from him, because it is supported by *T*abary.

(2.) *T*abary, p. 183, says, "When the Qorayshites saw that the messenger of God had a party and followers from other tribes and from another place than their own, and when they saw that his followers were remaining away from Makkah, they perceived that they settled in another place, and that they found protection; therefore they took measures that the messenger of God might not escape and join them."

forfeited every claim to the protection of their relatives, they were not extirpated by their furious adversaries. The author of the Rawdhat al-A*h*báb places in this period the attempt of Abú Bakr to take flight to Abyssinia; and though it probably took place sooner, I relate it here, because it shows how favorable the A*h*ábish, Khozá'ahites, and other tribes around Makkah, were to the innovations of Mo*h*ammad. The aristocracy would therefore have had a very heavy struggle, if they had gone to extremes; particularly as there existed a treaty between the Khozá'ahites and the family of the prophet. When Abú Bakr was one or two days' journey distant from Makkah, on his way to Abyssinia, he met Ibn al-Do'onnah, or Ibn al-Doghaynah, the chief of the A*h*ábish;[1] and he prevailed upon him to return to Makkah, and promised him his protection. When they had together arrived at Makkah, Ibn al-Do'onnah publicly proclaimed that Abú Bakr was under his protection; but subsequently Abú Bakr voluntarily released him from his engagement, because Abú Bakr used to say his prayers near his own house, and the women and young people, who used to look at him, manifested a great interest in him; and Ibn Do'onnah declared that such an exhibition was a public nuisance, and that he could not protect him against insults offered to him on this account; but he would protect him as long as he kept to his house.

The prophet now promulgated, in the name of God, the law to fight their enemies, in order to put a stop to persecutions; and this became henceforth the watchward of his bloody religion. His followers, who had to undergo imprisonment or tortures, took the first opportunity to escape from Makkah, and to join their brethren at Madynah. But Mo*h*ammad, 'Alyy and Abú Bakr stayed nearly three months,

(1.) To the A*h*abysh belong the banú al-*H*árith b. 'Abd Manáh b. Kinánah, the al-Hún b. Khozayarah b. Modrikah, and the banú Moç*t*aliq, who were a Khozá'ahite tribe. They lived in the immediate vicinity of Makkah.

notwithstanding the anxiety of the latter to emigrate without loss of time. At length the Qorayshites assembled in the town hall, and after some discussion they passed a resolution to murder him. A man was chosen from every family; he and they were all simultaneously to thrust their swords into him, in order to divide the crime and to oblige his relatives (the banú 'Abd Manáf) to forego the blood revenge, and to be contented with the price of the blood. It was now high time for Mo*h*ammad to take flight. But the Qorayshites were on the look out, and determined not to allow him to escape. The moment he heard of their intentions, he went, during the heat of the day, to Abú Bakr, and remained during the day in his house;[1] and in order to mislead the Qorayshites, who were watching his movements, and, as it appears, intended to carry their plot into effect the following night, he told 'Alyy to stay in his (Mo*h*ammad's) house, to put on his shawl, and to lay down in the place in which he used to rest. At night, whilst the Qorayshites thought they

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(1.) According to a tradition of 'A'yishah, preserved by Zohry, he goes during the heat of the day to Abú Bakr. From Wáqidy it would also appear, that he proceeded at once to Abú Bakr, and that he remained there. Yet most biographers, in order to find place for a miracle, say that Mohammad left his own house in the evening *after* 'Alyy had laid down on his couch; that he threw a handful of dust into the face of his enemies who surrounded his house; and that they became unconscious until he had left; and that they intended to dispatch him as soon as he might be asleep. In the first place I would ask, would the family of Mohammad have allowed his enemies openly to surround the house with the avowed intention of killing him? They can only have been spying round the house. Secondly, if they had had the intention of killing him as soon as he might be asleep, they would have rushed upon 'Alyy, whom they mistook for Mohammad; and on discovering their error they would certainly at once have gone to the house of Abú Bakr. The whole story of the council of the Qorayshites, and their resolution of assassinating him the very night on which he took flight, appears to me to be apocryphal; but I have no doubt that the means which he employed to escape are correctly related.

According to one account, preserved by *T*abary, p. 187, Mo*h*ammad went straight from his house to the cave of Thawr; and he left a message with 'Ally for Abú Bakr to follow him, to send him food, to engage a guide, and to purchase a camel for him. The version followed in the text is rendered somewhat doubtful by the fact that it rests on traditions handed down by persons of Abú Bakr's party, as 'A'yishah, Orwah, &c., who were anxious to enhance the merits of Abú Bakr.

had well secured Mo*h*ammad, he slipped with Abú Bakr out from a window at the back of Abú Bakr's house, and they escaped into a cave of the hill of Thawr, which is about five miles south of Makkah.[1] When the Qorayshites discovered their error, in mistaking 'Alyy for their intended victim, he ('Alyy) told them frankly that he had gone to Abú Bakr and remained there till night.[2] They proceeded to the house of Abú Bakr, and asked his daughter Asmá where her father had gone to? She said that she did not know. Abú Jahl, who, to use the lady's own words, was a blackguard and a ruffian, gave her such a box on her ear that she lost her ear-ring.

Abú Bakr had made the necessary preparations for the journey. He had bought two swift camels for eight hundred dirhams, and he kept five or six hundred dirhams in cash in his house, to be provided with money; and it appears that he had also previously hired a guide. Asmá his daughter, when Mo*h*ammad came into his house, roasted a lamb under hot ashes, and tied it up in a round piece of leather, which the Arabs spread on the ground to dine upon instead of a table, for the road.

They remained three days and three nights in the cave of the hill of Thawr. It is in the opposite direction from the road leading to Madynah, and their enemies had therefore no suspicion that they were secreted there. 'Abd Allah the son of Abú Bakr brought them every night the news of the city, and Fohayrah his freed-slave provided them with milk, and Asmá continued to send them provisions. In the fourth night they started. Mo*h*ammad rode one of the two camels, which Abú Bakr had purchased. Abú Bakr, and behind him Fohayrah, rode the other. Their guide[3] was a man of the

(1.) Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, p. 176, says, the distance is about one hour and a half.
(2.) Wáqidy.
(3.) According to a tradition in Wáqidy, they had two guides.

Dyl tribe. He was an idolater, but a trustworthy person.

The following day they rested during the heat of the day at Qadyd. The Qorayshites had promised a reward of one hundred camels to any one who would arrest Mo*h*ammad, and bring him back. Soráqah (b. Málik ?) b. Ja'tham was induced by this offer to oppose their progress, when they started from their resting place; but his horse shied at the camels, and he was unhorsed; and instead of capturing the prophet, he was obliged to beg for his life, which was granted to him under the condition that he would not betray him. Some authors say his horse sank up to his knees into the sand; and they raise the circumstance, that Mo*h*ammad with his two companions got the better over one man, into a miracle.

Mo*h*ammad and his party proceeded down the valley, took the western road to Madynah,[1] and arrived there on the 12th of Raby' I.,[2] 24th September, A. D. 622.

(1.) They took the following route: they proceeded down the valley of Makkah till they were opposite the sea shore below 'Osofán (or 'Osfán); then they went to Amaj, then Qadyd (or Qodayd,) then al Khirrár, then near Thannyyah Marah, then Laqf, then Modlijah Laqf, then Modlijah Mijáj (or Mijákh,) then Mar*h*aj Mijáj, then near al-'Odhwayn (or al-'Adhawayn,) then they descended to Dzy-l-Koshd, then up to 'Adáyid (or al-*H*adájid,) then up to al-Adźákir (or al-Ahrad,) then to Ray', where they said the evening prayers; then to Dzú Salm, then to Aghdá Modlijah, then to al-Athiyánah, then to al-Fájah (or al-Qá*h*ah,) then al-Far*h* or al-'Arj; (as the camels were tired the prophet hired in this place a camel from a man of the Aslam tribe;) then to al-'Áyir (or al-Gháyir,) which is south of Rakúyah; then they descended to Ba*t*n al-'Aqyq, (or Ba*t*n Rym,) as far as al-Jathjáthah; and then they proceeded to Qabá, which is a suburb of Madynah. According to *T*abary, al-Modlijah is the name of the road which they took after they had passed Thanyyah al-Marah; and this road runs between the road of 'Amq and the road of al-Raw*h*á; and it brought them to al-'Arj.

(2.) *T*abary, and Ibn Is*h*áq and Wáqidy say, it was a Monday; but the 12th was not a Monday. Sohayly says, "They arrived on the 12th Raby' I., which corresponded to the Aylúl of the Syrians. Other authors say on the 8th; and Ibn al-Kalby says they left the cave of Thawr on Monday the first Raby' I., and reached Madynah on Friday the 12th." According to Wáqidy, some were of opinion that he arrived on the 2d. The first and eighth of Raby' I., were Mondays, and Ibn al-Kalby may therefore be right.—The era of the Hijrah is calculated not from the date on which Mo*h*ammad took flight, but from the beginning of the lunar year in which he took flight, viz. from Friday, the 16th July, 622.